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ANALOGY IN THE VERBAL SYSTEM OF MODERN IRISH

IN Irish, as in other languages, two processes are found at work in the transition from its earlier to its later forms, one of decay, the other of growth. Where inflexions have been so worn away by the action of phonetic laws as to be confused with one another, the old system is bound to break down; and if the linguistic consciousness of any particular period feels the inflexions to be superfluous, they are merged together or entirely dropped.

On the other hand, there are certain distinctions, such as those of number, person, and tense, which no inflected language can do without; and when the old forms fail to express these clearly, more obvious and distinctive forms must take their place. Thus, though Modern Irish is still well inflected, a large proportion of its inflexions are not directly connected with the corresponding ones in O. Ir. They are fresh analogical formations, breaking the historic continuity of the accidence; and therefore from one point of view they are corruptions; but they serve the purposes of language as well as the so-called original inflexions, or even better, and the fact that we can trace the beginnings of the new system gives a special interest to our investigation of it. I purpose to examine, on these grounds, one tense of the modern verb, the preterite active, and to account for its most striking developments.

My examples of the modern language will be taken almost entirely from the dialect best known to me, that of Mid-Cork. All the dialects of West Munster are rich in inflexions. For instance, the preterite always has distinct forms for person and number, the "analytic" forms of the modern grammarian being almost unknown in this tense. A difficulty arises as to the spelling of the examples. Obviously the conventional Gaelic orthography will not do. On the other hand, an accurate representation of spoken sounds, apart from difficulties of alphabet and

type, demands in the writer a special training in phonetics which I do not possess, and to a certain extent presupposes a similar training in the reader. I think it best therefore to use the ordinary system as far as it will go, dropping silent letters, using *ui* rather than *ai* for *i* after a broad consonant; adopting Father O'Leary's *uto* for *t* preceded and followed by a broad consonant; using *au* for the sound of English *ou* in *house* as pronounced in Ireland, *au* for the same followed by a palatal. (The nasal *au* of Dēsi-Irish is not found in Cork.) The examples given are arranged under what may be called the stem of the third person singular in the standard form.

Already in the language of the Glosses the wearing down process has gone very far. Even if we had no proof of the fact, we might postulate that such weak endings as sg. 1 *-cúala*, 2 *-cúala*, 3 *-cúale* had not long to live. The last became regularly *-cuala*. How were the persons to be distinguished? It is often assumed that the reduplicated past simply took the endings of the S-preterite in the first and second persons. But at the present day the first person is *chuala* in West Munster. It is to the third person we must look for the origin of a new suffix which has done much to alter the verbal system of Middle and Modern Irish.

In O. Ir. 3sg. *-dechuid* beside 3 pl. *-dechutar* gave the impression of a stem *dech-* with endings *-uid* and *-atar*. The same stem also appears in 1 pl. *dechummar* for *dechdammar*. By the Mid. Ir. period it is evident that the words were so analysed. Other dental stems would strengthen the impression—*cechlaid* beside *cechlatar*, *aduid* beside *aduatar*, and so on. When we find such a form as *mebais* fluctuating with *ro mebaid*, we are justified in concluding that in the mind of a twelfth-century speaker the old reduplicated past *me-maid* had become *mem-aid*, that is to say, had evolved a new root *mem-* and a new termination *-aid*. What more natural than to employ this suffix, already associated with the reduplicated past, to strengthen the weakest point in the O. Ir. verbal system, the reduplicated forms ending in a vowel? A speaker who used sg. 3 *do-chuid* beside pl. 1 *do-chuamar*, 2 *do-chuabair*, 3 *do-chuatar*, would unconsciously say sg. 3 *-chualaid* to match pl. 1 *-chualamar*, 2 *chualabair*, 3 *chualatar*. In Mid. Ir. both *atchuala* and *atchualaid* are found. (Atkinson, 'Passions and Homilies,' p. 552, erroneously classes the latter as

a present base formed from a perfect stem.) In early Modern Irish *do-chualaidh* is common. Cf. *ni faccuid* Wi. Ir. Tex. I. 139, 18. To judge by *ni tharlaid* SR. 3668, *do-t-ralaid* ib. 1307, the suffix had begun to spread in the tenth century.

When the perfect sg. 2 *do-chuad*, *-dechad* was strengthened by the addition of the S-preterite ending, *-ais*, *-cuala* naturally followed suit; and we find a sg. 2 *-cualadais* LL. 296 b 32, 34, 35. Here the suffix is attached, not to *-cuala-*, but to the new base *-cualad-*. By this time we have got three quite distinct forms, sg. 1 *-cuala*, 2 *-cualadais*, 3 *-cualaid*, in a verb which threatened to become unipersonal in the sg.; and from these the modern colloquial forms sg. 1 *chuala*, 2 *chualais*, 3 *chualuig* can be derived according to the usual laws of Munster phonetics. Of course the sg. 3 *-cuala* lived on side by side with *-cualaid*; and possibly the existence of such pairs may have contributed to the formation of the syntactical doublets to which I shall presently refer. For as *dh = gh*, the suffix *-aid* must have been even in Mid. Ir. indistinguishable from the *-aig* and *-ig* of denominative verbs.

The normal form of the preterite in Modern Irish has the endings of the S-pret. in the singular, and of the reduplicated past in the plural. Thus from *mol-*:

sg.	pl.
1 do mholas	do mholamuir
2 „ mholuis	„ mholúir
3 „ mhol	„ mholadar

From *buail-*:

sg.	pl.
1 do bhuaileas	do bhuaileamuir
2 „ bhuailis	„ bhuailiúir
3 „ bhuail	„ bhuaileadar

It is to be noticed that the final *r* in the pl. 1 and 2 is always slender in Munster.

But departures from this standard are very numerous. Apart from archaic survivals these variations may be classified as due (I.) to phonetic laws, or (II.) to analogical formations, though at times it is not easy to draw the line between the two classes.

I. A full treatment of the purely phonetic variations would be out of place here. I may simply mention some typical cases, with special reference to those which throw light on Class II.

(a) Monosyllabic stems which lengthen or diphthongise the vowel in the 3 sg.—e.g. *fill* gives sg. 1 *d'ileas*, but 3 *d'll*; from *gearr* sg. 1 *do ghearas*, 3 *do gheár*; from *cam* sg. 1 *do chamas*, 3 *do chaum*. In *cum* the long vowel of the 3 sg. *do chúm*, also regular in fut. and past part., has spread to all parts of the verb.

(b) Syncopated verbs may become apparently irregular from assimilation, &c.

Codail :

	sg.	pl.
1	do cholas	do cholamuir
2	„ choluis	„ cholúir
3	„ choduil	„ choladar

Taking the 3 sg. as a base, many speakers form sg. 1 *chodalutos*, 2 *chodaluts*. For such forms see Class II.

innis :

	sg.	pl.
1	d'inseas	d'inseamuir
2	d'insis	d'insiúir
3	d'ingis	d'inseadar

(c) Very important is the treatment of stems ending in *gh*, *dh*, *bh*. The greater number are denominative verbs in *-igh*.

airigh :

	sg.	pl.
1	d'airíos	d'airíomuir
2	d'airís	d'airiúir
3	d'airig	d'airíodar
	d'aire sé	

árduigh :

1	d'árduíos	d'árduíomuir
2	d'árduís	d'árdúir
3	d'árduig	d'árduíodar
	d'árda sé	

Here we notice three things: the intervocalic *gh* with its following vowels is absorbed in the preceding vowel, which it

lengthens; *igh* disappears in 2 pl.; the 3 sg. has two forms. *D'airig* and *d'aire* are syntactical doublets, the latter being used when the subject is a following personal pronoun, the former in all other cases. Whether such doublets originated in cases like *do-chuala sé* beside *do-chualaidh*, in which the person being marked by the pronoun made it unnecessary to add the characteristic suffix *-aidh*, I cannot say. But similar doublets are also found in the fut. ind. of all verbs, *buailigh*, *buailhe sé*, *beig*, *be mé*, and so on. As it is unlikely that these had anything to do with the old absolute and conjunct terminations, it seems best to regard them as late phonetic growths, the enclitic pronoun allowing no pause after the verb, and causing the dropping of the final *gh* or *dh*, which elsewhere hardened into *g*. In that case the speech-unit *d'árdui(gh)-sé* would be a parallel to the past part. *árdui(gh)the*, where the *gh* disappears without compensatory lengthening. But the whole subject needs a full investigation. The *g*-forms are very rarely used with personal pronouns except in the case of monosyllabic verbs. Naturally in such verbs the vowel being stressed cannot become irrational.

nigh :

	sg.	pl.
1	do níos	do níomuir
2	„ nís	„ níúir
3	„ nig ní sé	„ níodar

luigh :

1	do luíos	do luíomuir
2	„ luís	„ luíúir
3	„ luig luí sé	„ luíodar

suidh has 3 sg. *do shuig* (i.e. *hig*) even with pronouns. *Guidh* has both *do ghuig se* and *do ghúí sé*.

Monosyllables with long vowels are—

báidh :

	sg.	pl.
1	do bhás	do bhámuir
2	„ bháis	„ bháúir
3	„ bháig bhá sé	„ bhádar

brúigh :

	sg.	pl.
1	do bhrús	do bhrúmuir
2	„ bhrúis	„ bhrúúir
3	„ bhrúig bhrú sé	„ bhrúdar

cuaidh :

1	do chuas	do chuamuir
2	„ chuais	„ chuaúir
3	„ chuaig chua sé	„ chuadar

dóigh :

1	do dhós	do dhómuir
2	„ dhóis	„ dhóúir
3	„ dhóig dhó sé	„ dhódar

léigh :

1	do léas	do léamuir
2	„ léis	„ léúir
3	„ léig lé sé	„ léadar

In *beirbh* a svarabhakti *ǐ* arises between *r* and *bh*, and the latter when intervocalic is treated like *gh*.

	sg.	pl.
1	do bheiríos	do bheirfomuir
2	„ bheirís	„ bheiriúir
3	„ bheiribh	„ bheiríodar

gabh is thus conjugated :

	sg.	pl.
1	do ghaus	do ghaumuir
2	„ ghauis	„ ghauúir
3	„ ghoibh	„ ghaudar

In sg. 3 the *bh* is slender. So *raibh* has sg. 1 *raus*, 3 *roibh* ; the last might be also written *reibh* ; but *raibh* does not represent the pronunciation of any district.

II. Among analogical formations one of the most interesting is *táinig*.

sg.	pl.
1 do thánag	do thánamuir
„ thána-sa	
2 „ tháinís	„ thánúir
3 „ tháinig	„ thánadar
tháine sé	

1 sg. *thána-sa* for *thánag-sa* is supported by other examples of 1 sg. in *a, chuala, thárla, feaca*. The plural forms then come from the stem *thán-*, *thánamuir* like *chualamuir*, &c. The 3 sg. *tháinig*: *tháine = airig: aire*; that is to say, the 3 sg. is treated as if it were *tháinigh*, and by analogy the 2 sg. = *tháinighis*, like *airighis*.

cuala:

sg.	pl.
1 do chuala	do chalamuir
2 „ chualúis	„ chualúir
3 „ chualuig	„ chualadar
chuala sé	

I have already analysed these forms.

connaic:

sg.	pl.
1 do chnoc	do chnocamuir
2 „ chnuicís	„ chnuiciúir
3 „ chnuic	„ chnocadar

With *chnoc* for *chonnac* cf. *cnubalach* for *conablach*. The modern forms point to a contamination of *adcondarc* and *conacca*. Mid. Ir. has both *-chonnairc* and *-chonnaic*. The 2 sg. has the termination *-ís* characteristic of so many irregular verbs. The dependent form *feaca* is thus conjugated:—

sg.	pl.
1 feaca	feacamuir
2 feacuís	feacúir
3 feacuig	feacadar
feaca sé	

The prothetic *f*, best heard in *ná feaca*, is slender in Munster. It has thus fallen into line with the present stem, Keating's *faicim* being now *feicim* or *ficim*, verbal noun *figint*. For the

assimilation cf. O. Ir. *maicc*, later *meic* now *mic*; *cumail*, *cumil* now *cimil*; *coiscéim* now *ciscéim*; *coimhead* now *cimedd*; *athair* now pronounced *aithir* (but gen. *athar*), &c.

adubhairt (= *ad-do-bert* for Mid. Ir. *at-ru-bairt*, O. Ir. *as-ru-bart*) the only surviving T-preterite, also takes *-ts* in 2 sg.:

sg.	pl.
1 duart	dúramuir
2 dúirís	dúruir
3 duairt	dúradar

The full forms *aduart*, &c., are now confined to relative clauses; as in the case of *adeir*, *atá*, the *a* is treated as a separate relative particle. However, the *d*, as not originally initial, is not subject to aspiration, though it is to eclipsis, hence *ní duairt*, *go nuairt*. But in Connacht the verb is analysed as *d'uir* and becomes *níor uairt* (commonly written *níor dhubhairt*), *gur uairt*, &c., on the analogy of regular verbs.

feadair:

sg.	pl.
1 feadar	feadaramuir
2 feadaruís	feadarúir
3 feaduir	feadaradar
feidir	

With sg. 1 *feadar*, 2 *feadaruts*, cf. *chuala* and *chualuts*. The *d* in 3 sg. *feaduir* has been broadened by analogy. But 3 sg. *ní eidir sé*, in the sense of "he did not know" (vid. Fr. O'Leary, "Aesop," Voc. xi.), points to O. Ir. *fitir*. The deponent *-ar* of the sg. is taken as a base for pl. endings.

do-rinne:

sg.	pl.
1 do dhineas	do dhineamuir
2 „ dhinis	dhiniúir
3 „ dhin	dhineadar

In the present tense, the orthotonic form of this verb being disused, we find *déinim*. But on the analogy of *deirim*, fut. *déarhad*, and *beirim*, fut. *béarhad*, a commoner form is *deinim*, fut. *déanhad*. Now, as *teine* is pronounced *tine*, so *deinim* is generally pronounced *dinim*; and from *din-* the preterite is regularly formed. The latter would be supported by the vocalism

of *do-rinne*, which seems to have died out in West Munster. I may remark that the spelling *do dhéin*, general in Munster writers, is quite misleading, for the vowel of the preterite is always pronounced short. *Ní dhearna*, sometimes found in poetry as dependent 1 sg., is modelled on forms like *chuala*, &c.

congaibh. Here *ng* becomes slender, giving *cuingibh*, or more commonly *cuinibh*, conjugated like *beirbh* above:

	sg.	pl.
	1 do chuinfós	do chuinfómuir
	2 „ chuínís	„ chuiniúir
	3 „ chuinibh	„ chuíníodar
<i>marbh</i> :		
	1 do mharuíos	do mharuíoimuir
	2 „ mharuís	„ mharúir
	3 „ mhairibh	„ mharuíodar

The 3 sg. keeps the old stem with the attenuation of reduplicated past. *Mairibh* is also the impv. 2 sg.; but the rest of this verb comes from a different stem *maruigh-*, which arises thus. The verbal noun *marbhadh* is regularly pronounced *marū*, just as *arbhar* = *arūr*. This is equated in the speaker's mind with the large class of verbal nouns in *-ughadh* (pr. *ū*) corresponding to denominative verbs in *-uighim*. So on the analogy of—

vn. <i>drdú</i>	we say	<i>marí</i>
„ gen. <i>arduithe</i>	„	<i>maruithe</i>
pres. ind. <i>drdutm</i>	„	<i>marutm</i>
fut. <i>drdóid</i>	„	<i>maróid</i>
pret. <i>d'ardútos</i>	„	<i>do mharútos</i>

Why *do mhairbh* should be kept in the 3 sg. pret. in Cork, I cannot explain. Even this seems to have died out in many districts, for *mharbhúigh* is often written. No doubt the *bh* is as purely ornamental here as in *marbhúighim*. The attempt to exhibit at the same time both classical and colloquial forms gives rise to many monstrosities.

	sg.	pl.
<i>sgríobh</i> :		
	1 do sgríos	do sgríomuir
	2 „ sgrís	„ sgríúir
	3 „ sgríg	„ sgríodar
	sgrí sé	

Here the *bh* being flanked by vowels is lost, and the verb treated as if the stem ended in *gh*, for *sgrtos* might represent *sgrtǵheas*. Hence the doublets in 3 sg. The impv. 2 sg. is *sgrtǵ*, and vn. *sgrt*.

fuair :

	sg.	pl.
1	do fuaras	do fuaramuir
2	„ fuaruis	„ fuarúir
3	„ fuair	„ fuaradar

The slender *r* of the 3 sg. has spread to the other persons in Kerry and elsewhere, but not in Cork. A form *fuaruís*, like *feadaruís*, seems to be coming into use for 2 sg. I have not heard it from good speakers. Why the negative should be *ní bhuaras* is not clear. *Ní* has the same effect on the present stem *fagh-*.

foghlaím :

	sg.	pl.
1	d'aulamuíos	d'aulamuíomuir
2	d'aulamuís	d'aulamúir
3	d'auluim	d'aulamuíodar

The stem is strengthened by *-uigh-* except in 3 sg. As mentioned above, this has no effect on 2 pl. The result is often a firmer base for the inflexions to rest upon, as will be evident to anyone who compares 1 pl. from old stem *d'aulamamuir* (accent on first syll.) with the longer form accented on the penult. It must also be remembered that the suffix *-uigh-* is constantly implied in the fut. of syncopated verbs.

In the same way *codail*, as already mentioned, sometimes makes sg. 1 *do chodalútos*, 2 *do chodalúts*.

In the same way :

imir :

	sg.	pl.
1	d'imiríos	d'imiriómuir
2	d'imirís	d'imiriúir
3	d'imir	d'imiríodar

iomchair :

1	d'iúmparuíos	d'iúmparuíomuir
2	d'iúmparuís	d'iúmparúir
3	d'iúmpuir	d'iúmparuíodar

fulaing is less regular :

	sg.	pl.
1	d'oluingíos	d'oluingeamuir
2	d'oluingís	d'oluingiúir
3	d'oluing	d'oluingeadar

The 3 sg. is sometimes *d'uilig*, from *d'fhuilig*.

aithin :

	sg.	pl.
1	d'ainthíos	d'ainthíomuir
2	d'ainthís	d'ainthúir
3	d'athin	d'athiníodar

Here are strengthening, metathesis, and a curious broadening of the first syllable in 3 sg. and pl.

tarraing :

	sg.	pl.
1	do thairigeas	do thairigeamuir
2	„ thairigis	„ thairigiúir
3	„ thairig thaire sé	„ thairigeadar

This verb shows denasalisation of *ng*, a not uncommon phenomenon in Munster Irish. The 3 sg. is further weakened in what I may call the pronominal form. With *thaire* cf. *tháine*. *Tarraing*, 'draw,' and *tairg*, 'offer,' have now fallen together.

urshluig :

	sg.	pl.
1	d'úirlicíos	d'úirlicíomuir
2	d'úirlicís	d'úirlicíúir
3	d'úirlic d'úirle sé	d'úirlicíodar

Here we have weakening of the 3 sg., *d'úirle* as if from *d'úirligh*, and strengthening of the base in the other persons.

sgeith, sgéith :

	sg.	pl.
1	do sgéas	do sgéamuir
2	„ sgéis	„ sgéúir
3	„ sgéig	„ sgéadar

The stem is *sgéigh*; and 3 sg. *do sgéig* is used even with pronouns.

iompuigh shows the influence of *-uigh* stems. *Imb-sóí* became *impoidh*, shortening the unaccented vowel of the root, and taking the usual dental suffix (cf. *clóí*, later *claoí*, pret. 3 sg. now *do chluig*, *do chluí sé*), and *-oidh* sounding like *-uigh*, it fell into line with the denominative verbs.

sg.	pl.
1 d'ímpuíos	d'ímpuíoimuir
2 d'ímpuís	d'ímpuíoír
3 d'ímpuig	d'ímpuíoíodar
d'ímpa sé	

In all its parts this verb follows the same conjugation, as also another compound *ionntuigh* (= ind-sóí), pret. *d'íuntuíos*, &c. But the verbal nouns are *iúmpáil* and *iúntáil*.

ditreabh, a contamination of *aitreabh* and *ditigh*, is conjugated like the latter, *d'itríos*, &c.

dirimh is treated as *dirigh*, losing the *mh* even in 3 sg., cf. *beirbh*.

Some verbs strengthen the 3 sg. only.

glaoth :

sg.	pl.
1 do ghlaos	do ghlaomuir
2 „ ghlaeis	„ ghlaeúir
3 „ ghlaeig	„ ghlaodar
ghlae sé	

do ghlaeig sé is also used. *ghlaeig* is sometimes written *ghlaodhuigh*, but more often *ghlaoidh*, a very misleading spelling if we compare *chlaoidh* = *chlúig*. With *ghlaeig*, *ghlae*, cf. *léig*, *lé*.

togh :

sg.	pl.
1 do thaus	do thaumuir
2 „ thauis	„ thauúir
3 „ thauig	„ thaudar
thau sé	

lámh :

sg.	pl.
1 do lás	do lámuir
2 „ láis	„ láúir
3 „ láig	„ ládar
lá sé	

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Here *láig* and *lá* like *bháig* and *bhá*. The 3 sg. is written *lámhúigh*, intervocalic *mh* being silent; and when *gh* goes also, *lámhúigh* is actually shorter than *lámh*, just as the pl. *lámh*a (pr. *lā*) is shorter than the sg. *lámh*.

sndmh :

	sg.	pl.
1	do shnás	do shnámuir
2	„ shnáis	„ shnáúir
3	„ shnáig	„ shnádar
	shná sé	

In this verb, unlike the preceding, the vowel is nasal, for the aspirate *sh* (= *h*), being followed by a nasal, is of necessity entirely nasal itself, and gives the tone to the whole syllable.

deachaidh, the dependent form of *do chuaidh*, may conveniently be classed here; though from the historic point of view it is not the strengthening of the 3 sg., but the weakening of the other parts, that produces the irregularity :

	sg.	pl.
1	deaghas	deaghamuir
2	deaghais	deaghúir
3	deaghaig	deaghadar
	deagha sé	

eagha(i) is a diphthong like *i* in English 'mice.' The older *deach-* has here become *deagh-*, perhaps under the influence of the fut. *ragh-*. On the other hand, outside Munster, the levelling process has produced *rach-*, like *deach-*.

The above list is not exhaustive; but it probably contains types of all varieties likely to occur in the spoken language. Of course the poetic style has traditions of its own. In identifying the exact forms used by the older generation of native speakers in Mid-Cork, I have relied chiefly upon the generous and never-failing help of Tadhg Ó Murchadha, well known to lovers of pure and idiomatic Gaelic by the name of 'Seandún.' To Prof. Strachan also, who has read a proof of this article, my thanks are due for some useful hints and criticisms.

A word as to the use of the particle *do*. It is generally prefixed, in slow and deliberate speech, to all preterites except dependent forms. In (*a*)*dubhairt* (= *ad-do-bert*) it is infixd.

Fr. O'Leary, "Mion-chaint," III. 18, says: "This particle is frequently omitted, as the aspiration of the first letter of the verb supplies its place. Before vowels and unaspirable consonants it is not omitted." In relative clauses it generally becomes *a*; and this *a* disappears before vowels. Its equivalent *ro* (in *nlor*, &c.) has spread to most of the irregular verbs. Thus *nlor thdinig* rather than *nl thdinig*, but *nd tadinig* and *go didinig* are still common. However, a discussion of the verbal prefixes belongs rather to syntax, and is outside the present inquiry.

O. J. BERGIN.

THE INFIXED PRONOUN IN MIDDLE IRISH

THE use of the infix pronoun in Old Irish has been made clear by the labours of Sommer¹ and Pedersen.² The following is an attempt to illustrate its development in Middle Irish. In this, as in other investigations into Middle Irish, it must be ever borne in mind that Middle Irish is in a greater or less degree an artificial literary language in which forms linger on after they have disappeared from ordinary use, and may even be revived according to the reading and the taste of the writer.³ In such an artificial language it is idle to look for the regularity of development which is found in popular speech. In this literary Irish are found many linguistic monstrosities which never formed part of the living language of Ireland; further, when a genuine old form is revived, it may be used as it never was when it was a living form. As we shall see below, the evidence of the *Lebor na hUidre* indicates that already in the eleventh century the infix pronoun was a moribund form; how long it survived in the living tongue I have no evidence to show.

To illustrate the use of the infix pronoun in literary Middle Irish I have selected a number of what seemed to me to be representative texts. They are the following:—

SR. = *Saltair na Rann*.⁴ This poem was written towards the end of the tenth century, and forms the natural starting-point of any investigations into Middle Irish. But it is preserved in a manuscript of the twelfth century, so that some caution must be exercised in the use of it; in particular much stress must not be laid on isolated forms not supported by the metre.

¹ CZ. I. 177 sq.

² KZ. xxxv. 400 sq.

³ A late and exaggerated example of the archaistic style is the *Life of Hugh Roe O'Donnell*, written in the beginning of the seventeenth century. The work has been edited by the Rev. Denis Murphy, S.J., Dublin, 1895.

⁴ Ed. Stokes, Oxford, 1883.

TT. = Togail Tróí¹ (LL. 217^a-244^b).

LG. = Lebor Gabála (LL. 1^a-26^b, omitting the verse).

Bor. = Boroma (LL. 294^b-308^a).

Nenn. = the Irish version of Nennius (BB. 203-211). The original text belongs to the eleventh century. There is a fragment of the work in LU. 3, 4. The Book of Ballymote version is not free from corruptions.²

Aen. = the Story of the Aeneid (BB. 449-485).

LS. = Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore.³ Here I have made use of the collections prefixed to Dr. Stokes' edition.

MC. = The Vision of Mac Conglinne.⁴

PH. = Passions and Homilies from the Leabhar Breac.⁵ For this Dr. Atkinson's glossary has been used.

MG. = The Martyrology of Gorman,⁶ a poetical composition of the twelfth century.⁷

In addition I have before me a collection of the pronominal forms in the Lebor na hUidre, from which I have quoted so far as has seemed expedient. It might have been expected *a priori* that this, the earliest of Mid. Ir. MSS., would play an important part in such an investigation. But when we come to examine the MS., we find that the long texts are texts that have come down from an earlier period with more or less corruption and interpolation, while the late texts are too short to give a fair idea of the usage.

The paper is divided as follows:—

- I. The infixed pronoun in Old Irish.
- II. Changes in the form of the infixed pronoun in Middle Irish.
- III. New Middle-Irish forms.
- IV. The infixed pronoun in Middle Irish.
- V. The independent pronoun.

¹ Ed. Stokes, Calcutta, 1881. The references are to the lines of this edition.

² An edition of Nennius was published by Todd, Dublin, 1848. From this text some variants have been added. But the *apparatus criticus* is very inadequate, and a new critical edition of the text is much to be desired.

³ Ed. Stokes, Oxford, 1890.

⁴ Ed. Meyer, London, 1892.

⁵ Ed. Atkinson, Dublin, 1887.

⁶ Ed. Stokes, London, 1895.

⁷ Stokes, Introduction, pp. xviii sq.

I. THE INFIXED PRONOUN IN OLD IRISH.

	¹ Non-relative.	Relative.	
1.	-m(m)'	-dom(m)'-, -dam(m)'	} Singular.
2.	-t-	-doť-, -dat-	
3 m.	-an ^o ; after <i>ní</i> , -n ^o -	-dan ^o -, -đn ^o -	
3 f.	-sn ^o -	-da-	
	after <i>ndch</i> : -a-	-a-	
3 n.	-a' ; after <i>ní</i> ,'	-ā-	
1.	-n(n)-	-don(n)-, -dan(n)-	} Plural.
2.	-b-	-dob-, -dab-, -dib-	
3.	-sn ^o -	-da-	
	after <i>nach</i> -: -a-	-a ²	

In non-relative construction, dental forms are used after *ad-*, *aith-*, *con-*, *etar-* *for-*, *frith-*; *ad-*, *aith-*, *con-*, *frith-* become, with the dental of the pronoun, *at-*, *cot-*, *frit(t)-*.²

Notes.—(1) But in the first and second persons the shorter forms prevail even when the verb is relative:—Wb. *ní maith domrignis* 4°27, *nachimrindarpaise* 5°18, *nomthá* 13°10, *nom-moldim* (?)⁴ 14°18, *domroisechtatar* 17°1, *nombeoigedar* 19°20, *domimmuirc* 23°36, *romsfera* 24°15, *romlccsa* 28°12, *immum-forling* 13°6; *amal nonáicndichtherni* 2°11, *hóre ronsóerni* 2°14, *hóre nonbendachani* 11°7, *amal nonnertarni* 14°13, *intain ronmoitsem* 17°13, *amal doncoisin* 17°10, *ronnitcni* 21°8, *hóre ronsóir* 24°18, *hóre dunnáinic* 25°21, *hóre aruntá* 25°25; *notail* 5°28, *notboctha* 5°32, *notbeir* 6°9, *amal rotgádda* 27°19, *rotchech-ladar* 28°16; *dobimchomarit* 3°21, *nobtd* 14°16, *robnóibsi* 19°12: Ml. *a ndumsennat* 39°28, *annumfindbadaigtisse* 39°14, *amal a[on]emarni* 53°18, *do[n]roidni* 53°9, *nomgoistigtisse* 54°26, *num-soiradsa* 74°13, *dumátsedsa* 78°18, *ol nachamdidnasa* 86°3, *lasse nomseimigthese* 88°11, *nachamthisedsa* 107°8, *a naramroet* 131°8; *immintimcheltisni* 32°19, *tarsindi donnuccat* 92°1, *huare nach-ansoirainni* 93°10, *dunnemtharni* 127°7, *a nimmuntimchellani*

¹ ' denotes that the pronoun aspirates, ° that it eclipses.

² A clear example of the relative use is *nacharochlat* Wb. 19°15.

³ Cf. Thurneysen, *Idg. Anz.* IX. 190; *CZ.* IV. 65.

⁴ The sentence is *hóre nondobmolorsa 7 nommóidim indib*. In such a sentence it is more usual for the second verb also to be relative,—e.g. Ml. 30°3, 37°10, 42°18, 57°10, 63°12, 94°8; but on the other hand Ml. 21°4, 48°19, 85°11, 123°8, Wb. 19°12, 24°7.

108^a9; *sechidū notsoesiu* 112^b6, *annachattoscelfat* 107^c11; *iarsindt dobroigasa* 103^e15. The dental forms are regular after *ad-*, *aith-*, etc., after the interrogative *in-*, after the conjunctions *con-*, *aran-*, *dian-*, and after prep. + rel., *in-*, *trissan-*, etc.; they are never found after *ndch-*.¹ The remaining instances of the dental forms are:—Wb. *nodomberasa* 1^a8; *amal asndonberat* 2^a12, *nodonnertani* 6^d11, *nodonfirianaigedar* 19^a14; *nudubgoithesi* (gloss imperfect) 5^c1, *hore nondobmolorsa* 14^c18, *lasse nondobsommigetar* 17^a1, *amal dondubcairemse* 28^c12, *amal rondobcarsamni* 25^a35: Ml. *ciofut dundamroimnifese* 32^d5, *nudamcrocha* 32^d28, *fodamsegatsa* 33^a19, *nodamfindbadaigetarsa* 39^d10, *rodamssoersa* 48^a21, *allaithe nundamsoira* 62^c6^b, *isindi arndamroichlisse* 74^d7, *dudamdonad* 86^d10, *lase dumamema* (leg. *dunamema*) 87^d11, *nach molad rundammoladsa* 88^a17, *lase arndamfuirset* 114^c11; *fodansegat* 27^a7, (*lasse* = cum) *nundanlaisrighther* 43^a12, *isindt rondannicaisni* 89^c6, *asndanbertheni* 114^a7; *a fundatferai* 38^c26, *amal dundatmecetarsu* 106^c11; and the following instances of a dependent subjunctive: *fundamthabarlisse* 54^c29, *nundammoraese* 70^c11, *ndammetar* 80^c3, *dundanroscad* (leg. *dundam-*) 100^b14, *dundamlegtharsa* 126^d10; *nundatges* 21^b5, *nundatmoide* 62^a12; *nundanmbrthar* 63^c4. There is some difficulty in the history of these forms. In later Irish the dental forms, except after *ad-*, *con-*, *dian-*, etc., disappear: see below, p. 159. If we had only Wb. to consider, it might not unreasonably be supposed that the dental forms were then tending to disappear. But if that were so, it might be expected that the dental forms would be proportionately less numerous in Ml., whereas the opposite is the case; even if we deduct the dependent subjunctives, of which Wb. furnishes no example, the dental forms are relatively much more frequent in Ml. Must it be assumed that the dental forms spread analogically to the first and second persons, that in the course of the eighth century they were still spreading, and then began to get fewer in the ninth century, and finally disappeared?

(2) In the 3 sg. masc. and neut., after the conjunction *con-* we find *condidn-*, *condid-*, later *conidn-*, *conid-*, similarly after *in-*, 'in which,' *indid-*. In the same persons in relative use *-idn-*, *-id-* appear after prepositions:—*conidn-*, *conid-*, *assidn-*,

¹ But *huare nd-n-dun-tanaic*, Sg. 26^b2.

assid-; *adid-*, *forid-*, *immid-*, etc., further with *ndch-*, in relative use, *ndchidn-*, *ndchid-*.¹

II. CHANGES IN THE FORM OF THE INFIXED PRONOUN IN MID. IR.

Corresponding to O. Ir. *r-an-*, *n-an-*, etc., *ron-*, *non-*, etc., are the usual forms in Mid. Ir. Sommer, CZ. I. 222, puts this down simply to confusion of *-o-* and *-a-* in the pretonic syllable. But this by itself will not account for the persistency with which *ron-*, etc., are written. The explanation rather is that after the analogy of *ro-m-*, *ro-t-*, *ro-n-*, *ro-s-*, etc., the pronoun was now felt to be *-n-*, the vowel being taken as belonging to the preceding particle. In O. Ir. texts preserved in Mid. Ir. MSS., *-an-* is often corrupted to *-on-*, e.g. *fónérig*, LU. 60^a6 (= *faneraig* YBL.), *fónópair* 60^b27 (where YBL. also has *fonobair*). For neut. *-a-*, see below, p. 163. Confusion of vocalism is also found in other pronouns, e.g. *cé noslairs* for *ce n-a-slairs* LU. 74^a18, *no-do-ansed* LU. 96^a33, *ar-do-petel* LU. 101^a19; for *noddsinet* (leg. *nodastnet*) LU. 87^b18, YBL. has *nodòsinet*. This orthography may be ascribed to the influence of the particles *no-*, *do-*.

Already in O. Ir. *-s-* tends to spread beyond its proper bounds.² In Mid. Ir. *-s-* becomes the regular form. In SR. *-sn-* is not infrequent: *do-sn-arbair* 89, *ro-sn-art* 3454, *ro-sn-alt* 3527, *ro-sn-ort* 4473, 5315, 6205, 6865, 6892, *ro-sn-ordaig* 4921, *ni-sn-acht* 5635, *do-sn-armchell* 6552, *do-sn-úargaib* 7445, cf. also *ro-dosn-airg* 5415; before a consonant: *ro-sm-bde* 3544, 4028, 5107, *ni-sm-boe* 3662. In later texts *-sn-* is rare: *ni-sn-éta* (v.) Bor. 317^b, *do-sn-icc*³ Aen. 468^a43, *do-sn-dinicc* LS. 315, 317, *nii-sn-etfaitis* 2227.

¹ Pedersen, KZ. xxxv. 412, observes that, after *ndch-*, *-d-* appears only in the neut. sg. And with reference to the O. Ir. Glosses that is literally true. But the reason is merely that there happens to be no instance of relative *ndch-* followed by the masculine pronoun. The lacuna is supplied by the Fragment of an O. Ir. Psalter published in *Hibernica Minora*, I. 462, is *héside nachidfarcaibsom*, where we find the form that might have been expected. Very peculiar is *ndchbeir* Wb. 6^c18. Pedersen assumes a neut. pron., but then the normal form would be *ndchid-beir*. Should we read *ndcha-beir* (sc. *breth f.*)? If the form could be taken as ipv., the difficulty would vanish, but that does not suit the Latin context.

² Cf. Sommer, CZ. I. 206.

³ It is followed by *chucu*, so that the *-sn-* is meaningless; it suggests a literary reminiscence.

In SR. *-d-* appears for *-dn-* in *bád-ad-adamrí* 6628, *conid-arlassair* 4791. In our later texts the pronoun happens to occur only before a consonant; the instances will be found below, pp. 171 sq.

Pretonic *nd* became *nn*, *n*, and that led to some obscuration of the pronouns. Already in O. Ir. *conid-* became *conid-*; for further examples of the same kind see CZ. IV. 55 sq. In Mid. Ir. the change goes much further, e.g. *dian-dom-* becomes *dianom-*, *conda-* becomes *cona-*, *condos-* becomes *conos-*. Examples will be found below, pp. 160, 174 sq. In one respect, however, the field of *conid-*, *conos-*, etc., in Mid. Ir., is limited by the fact that in Mid. Ir. the infixed pronoun commonly follows *-ro-* even in enclisis, e.g. *co rosmarb* = O. Ir. *condaromarb*.¹

III. NEW MID.-IR. FORMS.

In the first and second persons of the plural for *-n-* and *-b-* appear *-ar(n)-*, and *-bar(n)-*, forms derived from the possessive pronouns. For examples see below, pp. 160 sq. In the 2 pl. the longer form is already almost universal in SR.; our other texts furnish no examples of *-b-*. In the first person the longer form is not nearly so firmly established; it is most frequent in the poetical style. The reason for the difference of treatment in the two persons may be found in the difference in the sounds of *-n-* and *-b-*; *-n-* was a sufficiently distinct expression of the pronoun, spirant *-b-* in Mid. Ir. was not. The reason why the possessive pronouns could take the place of the old infixed pronouns in the plural seems to have been that in the singular the possessive pronouns and the infixed pronouns were identical in form. Thus e.g. *no-for-marba*: *do for marbad* = *no-t-marba*: *dot marbad*.

In Mid. Ir. *-da-* is replaced by *-das-*, *-dos-* (once *-dosn-* SR. 5415). From the instances below, pp. 174 sq., it will be seen that *-das-*, *-dos-*, corresponds in function to *-da-*:—it is used (1) relatively, (2) after *ad-*, *con-*, etc.; in the later language it is confined almost entirely to the second usage, relative *-dos-* being replaced by *-s-*. As in Mid. Ir. *-da-* is found where the verbal form is non-relative, so *-das-* is similarly used, particularly

¹ Cf. Strachan, the Particle *ro-* in Irish, p. 110, CZ. IV. 66.

in the language of poetry. How did *-da-* become *-das-*, *-dos-*? In its use after *con-*, etc., the explanation is simple. By *no-marba*, *no-t-marba*, *no-n-marba*, *no-b-marba*, stood *condom-marba*, *condot-marba*, *condon-marba*, *condob-marba*, where the second set of forms differed externally from the first in showing in addition *-do-*. By these forms stood *no-s-marba* and *conda-marba*. It is easy to see how under these circumstances *condamarba* would become *condosmarba*. In relative use the explanation would depend on how far rel. *-dom-*, *-dot-*, etc., were living forms when *-dos-* arose. If they were living forms, the explanation of *-dos-* would be the same as in the former case. But if, as is probable, *-dom-*, *-dot-*, etc., were practically dead, then we must suppose that *-da-* became *-dos-* under the influence of *condos-*, etc.¹ Unfortunately for the century and a half preceding the date of composition of the *Saltair na Rann* there is an almost entire absence of dated documents from which the history of the language could be learned. In the *Siaburcharpat Conculaind*² (LU. 113^a-115^b) *-dos-* does not yet appear: *atacomcussa* 114^b11, *con-da-rala* 114^b10, *atarethusa* 114^b14, 19. We may then say that *-dos-* for *-da-* came into literature in the tenth century.

IV. THE INFIXED PRONOUN IN MID. IR.

A. INFIXED PRONOUNS OF THE FIRST AND SECOND PERSONS.

In Mid. Ir. the dental forms in simple relative use disappear, the short forms being employed both in relative and non-relative use. Even in O. Ir. texts preserved in LU. they are very rare. I have noted only *do-dob-saig* 56^a7, *fo-dot-ben* 73^a14, *do-dom-anic* 120^a26, *ar-dot-chiat* 120^a44; further in the *Siaburcharpat Conculaind* *ro-da*[*t*]-*tánic* 113^b42. In SR. 1780 we have *ro-dat-tuistigad*.³ Occasionally the dental forms are used improperly, e.g. *ar-dot-chuibdig* LU. 46^b30, *nach-dot-romarbus* SR. 1908, *ni-dam-crochtar* MC. 21.

¹ Perhaps it is worth pointing out further that before verbs beginning with *s* the two forms of the pronoun would be indistinguishable.

² Zimmer, *Zeitschr. f. deutsches Alterthum* xxxv 43, dates the text from the middle of the ninth century. In any case it is posterior to 900 A.D.

³ In O. Ir. relative *n* would have been required: *ro-n-dat-tuistiged*.

But after *ad-*, *con-*, etc., the dental forms or their descendants are regular in Mid. Ir. Examples are :—

SR. *conom-thi* (from *con-dom-thi*) 2092, *dianam-thairbiur* 844, *in-dam-chluini* 1182, 1429; *atat-gén* 2887, *con-dat-fil* 1739, *conot-ruc* 1799, *cid ardot-ralaid*¹ 1307, *cid arnot-geib*² 1693; *conab-torlus* 1872.

TT. *dianot-bé* 1283.

NENN. *cid ornam-tugad . . . mhe* (v. l. *arnam-tugadsa*) 310^b28.

AEN. *dianum-fagba* 457^b39, *dianum-dichuiread* 469^b24, *gonam-basat* 478^a11.

LS. *dianom-sdruighet* (v.) 453.

MC. *atom-raracht* 71, *atom-regar*³ 83, *atom-cuirethar* 87, *conom-torsit* 45, *dianom-lena* 51. In *conam-tarrusar* 93, the pronoun is meaningless; correctly it would be *co tarrasar*. *domanaicsea* 75 is obviously a Mid. Ir. literary monstrosity for *atomchomnaicse*.

In MG. at June 4 and Sept. 5 occurs the curious form *diarnaitnem*, apparently, as the editor points out, for *dianarnaitnem*. It is one of the many curiosities of this text.

In Mid. Ir., as we have seen, there is a tendency to replace *-n-* and *-b-* of the 1 and 2 pl. by forms corresponding to those of the corresponding possessives. In LU. I have noted only a few instances :—*do-for-ficba* 15^a41 (Scél Túain), *ro-bor-ficfa*⁴ 84^a33, *ro-bar-cuiread*⁵ 84^b29, *arndchbaraccaister*⁶ 85^a4. The later form is responsible for the corrupt *atarrobradsi* 84^b29, where YBL. preserves *atdobarbadsi*. In a somewhat different connexion *-bar-* appears in *atabairecen* 100^a16, where other MSS. point to *atibécen* as the older text. But no argument can be drawn from this paucity of examples in LU.; the later LU. texts, in which the new forms might have been expected, furnish no examples of these persons.

¹ *ardot-* = *aran-dot-*

² *arnot-* = *aran-dot-*

³ A Mid.-Ir. formation for *atomrucht*, cf. Strachan, Deponent Verb, pp. 93, 106.

⁴ The form does not occur in the corresponding YBL. version.

⁵ A gloss on the text.

⁶ YBL. has preserved the old form *arnachabaccastar*.

In our other texts I have noted the following examples:—

SR. pl. 1. *nach-arn-dilsí* 1551, *nich-ar-fail*¹ 1560, *coro-r-coemchinni*² 1619, *nach-ar-lén* 1726, *huair do-r-rolaid* 1754, *ni-r-tora* 2747, *nach-ar-cobrai* 3759, *atar-fail*³ 3761. But *-n-* is the prevalent form; I have noted twenty-nine occurrences.⁴

pl. 2. *nach-for-fuca* 1459, *na-bar-sílaid* 2611, *ni-bar-torbae* 2625, *nocho-for-bia* 4063, *do-for-fuc* 4679, *do-for-fua* 5483, 5487. The writer also ventures to use the pronoun before a simple verb: *for-bia* 3503, *form-bia* 3511, *for-saera* 4831.⁵ Of *b* I have only two instances: *ni-p-ta* 1444, and *no-b-saerfa* 2732.

TT. pl. 1. *nir-thá* 220. No examples of *-n-*.

pl. 2. *ra-bar-fogluais* 1611, *nach-bar-bé* 1620. No examples of *-b-*.

BOR. pl. 1. *nach-ar-táir* (v.) 308^a40, *con-ar-tt* (v.) 308^b7. No instances of *-n-*.

pl. 2. *do-bar-ficfa* 302^b8. No instances of *-b-*.

AEN. pl. 1. *do-n-farraid* 449^a19, *ro-n-la* 450^b25, *ro-n-geb* . . . *sinne* 454^a40. I have noted no instance of *-arn-*.

pl. 2. *robtar-bia* (sic) 452^b27. No instances of *-b-*.

LS. Stokes, p. lxiii, notes in 1 pl. four instances of *-n-* and none of *-arn-*,⁶ in 2 pl. two instances of *-bar-* and none of *-b-*.

PH. In 1 pl. Atkinson, p. 810, quotes twenty-two examples of *-n-*, but of *-arn-* only *nach-ar-léic* 7961, 7968; in the 2 pl. he quotes no instances of *-b-*, and four of *-bar-*.

¹ In Wb. there is no example of an infix pron. after *nicon-*. In Ml. there are three, showing two modes of treatment: on the one hand *nico-s-fuar* 57^a3, on the other, *nicon-d-robae* 41^a5, *nicon-da-bia* 69^a8, where *nicon-* is treated like *con-*, cf. Pedersen, KZ. xxxv. 420. Instances like *nicosfuair*, from the later language, are *nico-m-bia* LU. 54^b48, *noco-s-fácebáid* LU. 117^a21, *nocho-m-tha* SR. 2088, *noco-t-bia* SR. 847, *nocho-s-rála* 4110, cf. also *nacu-m-saraig* BB. 467^a39. Like *nicondabia* are *noconom-tha* LU. 86^b14, *nochonom-tha* 103^a36.

² *-rn-*: *-arn-* = *-n-*: *-an-* in the 3 sg. masc.

³ *atar-*, after the model of *atom-*, *atot-*, etc. For *atarfail* the normal form is *attaam*. In *atarfail* the aspiration is strange. Does it come from association with the aspirating preposition *ar*? Cf. *nach-for-fuca* and *nirthá* below.

⁴ 1214, 1319, 1341, 1342, 1483, 1487, 1505, 1506, 1524, 1557 (bis), 1723, 1724, 1755, 1756, 1787, 1855, 3485, 3489, 3579, 3599, 3619, 4053, 4054, 4055, 4059 (bis), 7518, 7519.

⁵ Cf. Strachan, Verbal System of the Saltair na Rann, p. 42, note.

⁶ In *curo-s-foire sinne*, *s* is nothing more than a meaningless Mid.-Ir. *s*: cf. *do-s-fuc sinde* BB 466^b11.

MG. pl. 1. *nar-laedend* Mar. 3, *nar-foemad* Apr. 18, *nar-benann* May 21, *narn-anaig* Jan. 1, 19, Jul. 9, Aug. 11, 27; but *ro-n-bera* Jan. 2, *ni ro-n-dedla* Ap. 20.

B. INFIXED PRONOUNS OF THE THIRD PERSON.

In the third person the *s*-forms tend to become universal. In non-relative construction *-s-* spreads to the masc. sg.; further *conidn-* becomes *conos-*. In relative construction *-dos-* (the representative of older *-da-*) in time gives place to *-s-*. From the eleventh century onwards *-s-* appears also merely as a relative particle. Further, the force of the pronoun gradually fades, and there is an increasing tendency to use it pleonastically before a following noun or independent pronoun. The infix pronoun *-n-* is no longer confined to non-relative use. Of the dental forms *-dn-*, *-d-*, so far as it survives, is no longer restricted to relative use; the neut. *d'* lives on as an integral part of certain verbs and as a symbol of relativity. The pl. *-da-* early disappears from common use; before it disappears it is also used non-relatively; sometimes it is improperly used as a singular.

We will now exemplify from our texts (1) the non-dental forms, (2) the dental forms.

(a) NON-DENTAL FORMS.

1. *-an-*, *-n-*. As we have seen above, it appears from the normal Mid.-Ir. orthography that the pronoun was felt to be normal *-an-*, but *-n-*. Rarely¹ it is used with reference to a feminine noun or where the verb is followed by a feminine object:—*no-n-edbair* (sc. *súalaig*) PH. 7102, *do-m-bert bennachtain* MC. 5, *ro-m-ben a lumain* MC. 25, *do-m-bert* (v. l. *dobert*) *Cuchulaind cloich* CZ. III. 259. Here it may be doubted if the pronoun had any meaning. It is followed by a plur. in *coro-n-innarba nert Bretan iat* (where BB. has *coroinnarba*) LU. 3^a45. In *ni-n-érlá* TT. 563 it has no meaning. As in the struggle for existence it had to contend against the encroachments of *-s-*,

¹ These few instances of an indifferent use of *-n-* may be explained from the fact that *-s-* was now used of all genders and numbers.

it will be more convenient to give the examples of *-n-* side by side with those of masculine *-s-*.

2. *-a'*, *-i'*. In Mid. Ir. the forms of the old neuter pronoun would of necessity be obscured. For (1) owing to the confusion of pretonic vowels and the extension of the aspiration of the initial consonant of a verb after pretonic particles, there would be no formal distinction between, e.g., *d-a-beir* and *do-beir*. (2) As *nt* now aspirates regularly, the old distinction between *nt cheil* and *nt ceil* would vanish. (3) In Mid. Ir. *ndch-* is common even when there is no infix pronoun. It should be noted that in Mid. Ir., owing to the disappearance of the neuter gender in the noun,¹ a special neuter pronoun would not be needed to the same extent as in O. Ir.; it would be required only to express an 'it' which does not refer back to a foregoing noun. That such an 'it' was expressed in Mid. Ir. by the obscured descendants of the old neuter pronoun I have no evidence. Before the matter could be regarded as definitely settled, it would be necessary to investigate the question of the ellipsis of the pronoun. But from the evidence before me it seems probable that this 'it' was in Mid. Ir. expressed by an independent pronoun; cf. *amal demniges Iob sin* LU. 35^a13, which in O. Ir. would probably be *amal nonddemnigedar Iob*; so in Cormac, s. v. *imbais forosnai*, LBr. has *idbraid sin*, where better MSS. have *atopair*; in this connexion it is worth while to look at the examples of *sin* in PH. p. 875^a43-875^b3. Of *é* in such a use I have no example in LU.; but it is found later, e.g. *doringned ém éside* TT. 161, *rachluin heside* 406, *co cluinem . . . he* PH. 24, *dorinne . . . he* 7396.

3 *-am-*, *-a-*.

(a). As in O. Ir., this is the regular form in the 3 sg. f., and in the 3 pl. of all genders in non-relative construction.

¹ So far as I can judge from my collections from SR., the neuter had practically disappeared by 1000 A.D. Note *ind rae* 113, 2708, *in nem namra* 120, *in tres noibnem* 128, *in sechtmad nem* 195, *in muir* 913, 3989, *in col* 1141, *in mbiad* 1160, 7069, *in crann* 1229, 1284, *in nubull* 1285, *isin sliab* 3129, *in lind* 4067, *in scél* 6193, *in buaid* 6363, *in neltach* 6380, *in dede* 6392, *in cumtach* 7030, *na hésseirge* 7700, *fo gairm glain* 1487, *la sil suilig* 5134, *gné gaind* 7577. The only exceptions which I have noted in the article are *a nnem* 112 (which may be a corruption of the MS.), and *a mbé* 5974 (a word of the poetical vocabulary). In LU. even in old well-preserved texts like the Táin Bó Cúailnge, the old neut. is often replaced by another gender, which points to a decay of the neuter gender in the living speech.

Hence it would be superfluous to give all the occurrences ; only those are given in which the verb is further followed by an accusative or by a pronoun.

SR. sg. 3 f. *ro-s-mathig* . . . *cathir* 6663, *ro-s-dechraig* . . . *cach luib* 1925.

pl. 3. *ro-sn-ort* . . . *cethri mili dec* 4473, *nt ro-s-aisneid* . . . *gnimrada* 5337.

LG. sg. 3 f. *no-s-rannat Herinn* 15^b7.

pl. 3. *no-s-beir* . . . *iat* 20^b44.

TT. pl. 3 *ra-s-fáidset techta* 1083.

BOR. sg. 3 f. *do-s-rat a mndi* 295^a1, *do-s-bertatar froiss* 306^a42.

NENN. pl. 3 *ro-s-faid techta* 205^a36.

AEN. sg. 3 f. *ro-s-buaidrestair hi* 456^b38, *ro-s-marb i fen* 464^a24, *no-s-dealbann hi fen* 477^b31, 483^a39.

pl. 3. *no-s-geb* . . . *iat* 451^a17, 469^b2, *ro-s-faid* . . . *iad* 452^a40, *coru-s-duaid* . . . *iat* 450^b27.

LS. sg. 3 f. *ro-s-gab ecla mor an og* 1421.

pl. 3. *do-s-fuisigh iat* 100, *ro-s-bennach na leastra* 1678, *no-s-folartnaiged uili iat* 4111.

MC. sg. 3 f. *do-s-beraind falaig* 45.

pl. 3, *ni ro-s-bensam clucu* 29, *ni-s-bera bá* 5, *naro-s-teilg tri frassa* 59.

PH. See Atkinson's Glossary, pp. 856 sq., where, however, in a number of instances, the *-s-* is purely relative. The chief thing to note is the frequency of *-s-* where the verb is followed by an accusative.

MG. See Stokes' Glossary, p. 288. It is hard to draw the line here between relative and non-relative forms.

(*b*) In Mid. Ir. the pronoun is also used where the verb is relative.¹ It is found (*a*) without, (*β*) with, a following object.

SR. sg. 3 f. (*a*) *ro-s-derb* 26, so 2066, 3228, 3232, 3311, 4422 (*feib*), 5506, 6677 (*uair*), 7505, 7528.

pl. 3 (*a*) *ro-s-derb* 54, similarly 87, 88, 89, 93, 215 (*feib*), 221, 271 (*feib*), 363, 429, 1112, 1290, 3514 (*feib*), 3525 (*feib*), 3529 (*feib*), 3788, 3961, 4028, 4229, 4230, 4425, 4426, 4773, 4817, 4818, 4921, 5022, 5073, 5197, 5201, 5389, 6892, 7201.

¹ In the O. Ir. Glosses there are already three instances of this, CZ. IV. 65 ; cf. *nach tain to-sn-aidle* LU. 96^b38.

- (β) *ri ro-s-ordaig . . . na ocht fogaetha* 65,²so 4621, 5325, 5433, 7445, 7473, 7681.
- L.G. sg. 3 f. (α) *ro-s-lessaig* 13^b26, *do-s-fuc* 9^a40, *ro-s-fuc* 23^b42, 44.
- TT. pl. 3 (α) *da-s-ficfad* 186, *ra-s-beth* 1102.
- NENN. f. sg. 3 (α) *ro-s-cab* 204^a24, *ro-s-gab* 206^a7.
- AEN. sg. 3 f. (α) *ro-s-fasto* 455^b34.
 pl. 3 (α) (*intan*) *ro-s-lá* 460^a42.
 (β) *ro-s-fuc a longa* 471^b31, *ro-s-faid . . . iat* 463^a19.
- LS. pl. 3 (β) *ro-s-biath na soeir* 7 *ro-s-ic a ndulghena* 1577.
- MC. f. sg. 3 (α) *do-s-méla* 17.
 (β) *no-s-baided crethir chonnli* 63.
 pl. 3 (β) *feib no-s-turim na hilbiadu* 101, *do-s-gnt na rundu* 109.
- PH. sg. 3 f. (α) *no-s-airmend* 5326, so 2870, 4610, 4624, 5329, 6010 (*intan*), 6040, 6146, 6147, 6152, 7078.
 (β) *do-s-gnt in cassait* 105, so 437, 1116, 4642, 6039, 6412, 6430, 6446, 6469, 7329, 7381, 7383, 7468, 8372, 8411, 8423 ; *ro-s-dermait ht* 68, so 208.
 pl. 3 (α) *ro-s-lín* 1121, so 1613, 4198, 4202, 4495, 5861, 6111, 6855, 6856, 7068.
 (β) *ro-s-mill na huili* 2052, so 1642, 6498 ; *ro-s-ordne iat* 4075.
- (c) In Mid. Ir. the pronoun is also used for the 3 sg. masc., here entering into competition with *-n-*.
- SR. *-s-* rel. (α) *da-s-fuargaib*¹ 5389.
 (β) *do-s-fuc*² . . . *Abimelech* 5689.
-n- non-rel. (α) :—*rofacaib* 1315, *ro-n-gab* 1707, *ro-l-lín* 1708, *ra-n-lín*³ 1911, *ra-m-biad* 2792, *da-m-beir* 2952, *nir-n-anacht* 3135, *nir-m-bai* 3279, *ro-n-baidsemmar*³ 3621, *co ro-n-erail* 3707, *ni-n-len*³ 3839, *ro-lín* 3880, *nacha-relic* 4787, *ni-n-anais* 5999, *ra-n-gab* 6087, *ni-m-bai* 6384, 6399, *co ro-n-dúsaig* 6690, *da-fuc* 6707, *ro-l-lín* 6796, *co ro-n-giuil* 6957.

¹ Unless the pronoun refers to both Joshua and Samuel.

² If it be not a scribal error.

³ Below, from later texts, will be found some instances of the non-assimilation of *-n-*: that would be intelligible when the pronoun was a literary survival; but in SR. it is to be imputed to the copyist rather than to the author.

(β) *co ro-n-saera*¹ *Beniemein* 3600.

rel. (a) *ro-faidi* 3166, *ro-m-bennach* 3429, *ro-m-mol* 4030, *no-m-btfad* 5812, *da-fingebad* 5820.

(β) *ro-n-gart* . . . *Moisi* 4969.

LG. -n-

non-rel. (a) *co ro-s-innarb* 15^a32, 24^a18.

-n-

non-rel. (a) *ro-n-delb* 5^a45, *no-fothraic* 13^a6, *ro-len* 22^b32, *ro-marb* 23^b13, *co ro-n-innarb* 24^a32.

rel. (a) *ro-n-ortsat* 24^a23.

TT. -n-

non-rel. (a) *na-s-marband* 410, *ra-s-uc* 416, *no-s-geib* 747, *ra-s-cairig* 805, *ra-s-cúrach* 805, *no-n-essaig* 2057.

rel. (a) *ra-s-bethait* 13, *ra-s-carsatar* 51, *ro-s-fuc* 1564.

-n-

non-rel. (a) *ra-n-adnaic* 753, *ro-n-gab* 759, 781, 804, 1986, *ro-n-dligset* 2078, *ro-n-dlgail* 2078.

rel. (a) *ra-n-ucsat* 237, *ro-n-marb* 2078.

BOR. -n-

non-rel. (a) *do-s-biurt* 300^b12, *ro-s-bia* 303^a41, 42, *co ro-s-baid* 306^a42.

(β) *do-s-berat slét* 301^a7, *ro-s-bennach in Colguin sin* 306^b1.

Of -n- I have no instances from this text.

NENN. Of -s- I have no instances.

-n-

non-rel. (a) *ro-m-bearbh* 209^a49, *ro-m-baist* 209^b7, *ro-n-eascan* 210^a44. At 210^a34 is a peculiar *romgab*, where another text has *rogab*.

AEN. -n-

non-rel. (a) *ro-s-guidind* 453^a23, *no-s-innsaigend* 460^b17, *no-s-tesairginn* 461^a33, *gu ru-s-marb* 468^a27, *ro-s-lic* 473^a3, *no-s-trascrand* 474^a6, *ro-s-geb* 475^a7, *no-s-croithind* 472^b41, *do-s-fig* 472^b44, *no-s-marbann* 480^b39, *do-s-fic* 480^b41, *no-s-bered* 482^b33.

(β) *ro-s-fuc ar nór* 449^b38, *do-s-fic* . . . *in trenmilid* 461^a25, *ro-s-tocaid he* 461^a24.

rel. (a) *no-s-tuc* 450^b22.

¹ Probably a scribal corruption.

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(β) *amal no-s-fuc corp* 452^b2, if the -s- is more than relative.

-n-

non-rel. (α) *ro-n-gab* 449^a28, 464^b12, 479^b35, *ro-n-esairginn* 461^a28, *no-n-geb* 484^b28.

LS. -s-

non-rel. (α) *no-s-beir* 448, *cu ro-s-bennach* 1370, *no-s-gormfadh* 4080.

(β) *cu ro-s-ic in clamh* 1366.

rel. (α) *no-s-intsamhlaighet* 673, *ro-s-marbh* 4230, *ro-s-tairbhir* 4873.

(β) *ro-s-anacht in sabhall* 1923, *cu ro-s-toifnetar he* 4054.

-n-

non-rel. (α) *ro-n-gabh* 66, *ro-m-beir*, *ro-n-bennach* 513, *ro-n-fia* (v.) 775, *ro-n-gaibh* 1464, *cu ro-m-baist* 2521, *ro-n-greis* 4345.

(β) *ro-n-alt Patraic* 67.

rel. (α) *do-n-athuiged* 156, *ro-n-edbair* 834, *ro-n-alt* 2842, *ro-n-baisd* 2843.

MC. -s-

non-rel. (α) *ro-s-gab* 15, *ro-s-léic* 25, *no-s-imarchuir* 29, *ni-s-tadaill* 81.

(β) *ni-s-fagbad a grianad* 11, *co ru-s-acaillersa in manach* 105, *do-s-beraind do chorp* 107.

rel. (α) *do-s-méla* 65.¹

PH. -s-

non-rel. (α) *co ro-s-marb* 291, *ro-s-impá* 499, *co ru-s-loig* 811, *ro-s-indarpsat* 1527, *ro-s-gab* 2310, *no-s-comairlécfi* 4374, *cu ra-s-geoguin* 6305, *co ru-s-croch* 6464.

(β) *no-s-forcetlad . . . in popul* 319, *co ro-s-dtultad Crist* 490, *ro-s-gab . . . Dioclian* 532, *ni-s-fil nách cumang* 990, *ro-s-bennach in Coimdid* 1149, *ro-s-bennach . . . intt Georgi* 1159, 1246, *ni-s-fil biad* 1310, *ro-s-gab a ndidin* 1321, *ni ro-s-léc a chend do phócad* 1344, *ro-s-glan . . . in tempul* 2098, *ro-s-gab . . . Ermogin* 2197, *ni-s-fetam . . . olc* 2221, *do-s-beir cech maith* 3972, *no-s-cometat . . . a flaitheus*

¹ On p. 45 *do-t-gní* might have been expected rather than *do-s-gní*; cf. p. 175, note.

4126, *ro-s-furec a less* 4373, *do-s-gní imarbus* 6451, *co ro-s-cennaig flaithius* 6956, *ni-s-fil súgrad* 7668; *ro-s-gab . . . he* 559, *co ro-s-acallam he* 692, *ni ro-s-corb he* 1512.

rel. (a) *no-s-cuibdigenn* 3536, *ro-s-uc* 3856, *no-s-intsli* 4601, 5606, *no-s-inntámلاغend* 5689, 6792, *no-s-carait*, 5802, *no-s-guidet* 5787, 7890, *no-s-carand* 6037, *no-s-credet* 6795, *no-s-faismet* 6796, *no-s-aitchend* 7107, *no-s-aitchet* 8002.

(β) *intan ro-s-gonsat sliss* 144, *do-s-bera mo chorp* 616, *ro-s-cengail suainem* 2321, *ro-s-icc peccad* 2448, *ro-s-cuibrig Pilip* 2489, *no-s-guidet . . . int apstal* 2567, *ro-ss-uc . . . coscar* 8406; *no-s-aitchend he* 5454, *ro-s-imorchur he* 7186, *ro-s-marb he* 7478.

-n-

non-rel. (a) *ro-n-ergabsat* 3101, *ro-n-gabus* 3790, *ro-n-ardaig* 4820, *ro-n-aimsig* 4821, *cu ro-n-aimsiged* 4821, *ro-n-delb* 6285, *do-n-arfaid* 6311, *ro-n-aitchiset* 6547, *fo-n-géabaid* 7006.

(β) *ro-n-ergabsat Iosep* 2936, *no-l-lessaig in nech* 4973; *co ro-n-baist e* 1304, *co ru-m-baist he* 1338, *ro-n-gab . . . he* 3207.

rel. (β) *is and ro-n-imdib Ísu* 5755.

A few instances call for special mention. In *ni-s-cúmat ní* PH. 1131, *do-s-gní cech ní* 463, 6597, *ni-sf-aighe . . . ní* 7992, as *ní* is a noun, the usage is parallel to what we have had above. But there is an extension of the usage in *ro-s-cetaig innisín* 908, *do-s-gní . . . insín* 2238, 257, *ro-s-cluinebsa innisín* 1431, *ru-s-closa sín* 1579, cf. *do-s-rat sín* MC. 9.

If we consider the above examples of *-s-*, one of the most striking things is the wide extension of what would in O. Ir. be called the anticipatory use of the infixed pronoun. Particularly strange is this where the infixed *-s-* ‘anticipates’ a following independent pronoun; of this more will be said below. This extended use of *-s-* is to be brought into connexion with another fact, the replacement of the infixed pronoun by the independent pronoun. As we shall see more fully below, this new development can be traced back in literature to the

eleventh century. In the Annals of Ulster the use of the independent pronoun prevails from the middle of the twelfth century.¹ And before the innovation made its way into literature, it would be firmly established in popular speech. When this change was carried through, the infix pronoun would linger on as a literary ornament, and it need not surprise us that it was sometimes extravagantly used. In the instances above, the infix pronoun when followed by a noun or an independent pronoun *could* be explained as an anticipatory use of the pronoun; how far it was felt to be so by the writers is another matter. There are, however, instances in which it cannot be so explained.

(d) Sometimes *-s-* seems to have the force of a relative.²

Examples from our texts are:—

TT. *foddgen . . . ro-s-fuc* 1564.

AEN. *in mac ro-s-fuc Andromachæ* 450^a40, *is e do-s-fuc sindi* 466^b10, *ni mo no-s-ticc* 471^b20.

MC. *in goeth no-s-tic darsin tir sin* 83, *cach mtr fo-s-cerdi* 99.

PH. *inni do-s-gniat* 174, *is aice ro-s-foglaim* 281, *intan do-s-biad si te* 382, *in sceoilse ro-s-toitt forsin eclais* 581, *is a mac no-s-tcc Georgi* 1354, *is e ro-s-clochsat* 1510, *in mbairgin ro-s-bennach* 1784, *amal bid in la sin no-s-dichennta Pól* 1882, *no-s-imbret* 4105, *amal do-s-furail* 7328, *cia breth do-s-berad* 7352.

It will be seen that this relative use spreads with the extension of the 'anticipatory' pronoun, from the use of which, in relative sentences, it would seem to have developed; indeed it is possible that in many of the foregoing instances in which the pronoun has been put down as 'anticipatory,' it should

¹ The instances down to 1214 A.D. are:—*loiscit . . . é* 1099, *co romarbad é* 1106, *co roastaei . . . e* 1164, *rodichuirset é . . . he* 1165, *darait . . . he* 1165, *dotreicsit eisim* 1166, *rorigsat hé* 1166, *rodichuirsetar . . . é* 1170, *rodicuirset . . . iat* 1177, *rodichuir . . . iat* 1196, *is iat ro-s-gabhsat é* (a solitary instance) 1202, *dolean he* 1211, *tuc . . . iad* 1214. The instances of the infix pronoun which I have from 1000 to 1300 A.D. are:—*co ru-s-dilegait* 1014, *conitairthetar* 1021, 1035, *conus-taraidh* 1012, *ro-n-bia* (v.) 1065, *co ru-s-tairmesc* 1097, *conus-tarraid* 1101, 1125, *cono-ragaib* 1105, *conab-tarthatar* 1126, *cu ru-s-mursat* 1165.

² Pedersen, KZ. xxxv. 384, whose explanation, however, does not suit the facts. An example from LU. is *do-s-fucad* 60^b35, in an interpolation.

³ In *amal do-s-gni* 370, *-s-* might refer to *mirbuil* and *furtacht*.

more properly have been labelled 'relative'; there is no sure criterion. This development may have been helped by the fact that in Mid. Ir. the infix pron. *-an-* and the infix relative *-n-* fell together in form.

(e) Sometimes *-s-* has no apparent force.

SR. *ro-s-delbtha* 418,¹ *do-s-fuit* 1719.

BOR. *do-s-lúiset* 303^a10; cf. *do-s-lui* LU. 98^b24.

AEN. *do-sn-ic chucu* 468^a43 (*do-sn-ic* is evidently a literary borrowing with no feeling for the force of the pronoun), *ro-s-comtoitset* 480^b22, *do-s-tuingimsea duid ar dei nime* 464^a29.

LS. *do-s-fanic . . . cu Daire* 564.

MC. *ní-s-tá dam* 29, *ní-s-téig* 83, *ní-s-fanic . . . ina dochum* 13.

PH. *co ro-s-tuirtis 7 co ro-s-tuicdis cret in fuil* 13, *co ro-s-tuicdis Iúdaide na caemnactar* 4499, *ra-s-fetutar cor fhír inní atrubrad* 107, *co ro-s-imrdided indus nomalartfad he* 1202, *no-s-fitir comid écen doberar fort* 728, *ní-s-fetatar cia leath dochuaid* 627, *ní-s-fetatar comad olc* 3330, *ní-s-fitir nech cia rohadnaiced inní* 1276, *ní-s-fitirsium na comailfed* 3055; *ní-s-fitir an imagin do beth and* 72, *do-s-bersa fortsa do Dia fein do fácbail* 2134, *ro-s-geb for . . .* 285, *coro-s-dorchaig grian* 675, *ro-s-fáiltin* 1180, 6713, *ní ro-s-erchoit dó* 1192, *ro-s-dercc . . . for Georgi* 1250, *ro-s-forbair* 1315, *co ro-s-imdig* 1362, *ru-s-fég* 1409, *cia no-s-diuldat* 3009, *ní-s-bia* 4284, *ní-s-bia esergi doib* 6594, *ní-s-biád pian form* 8259, *ní-s-téged* 7211, *ro-s-taifnít* 7223.

4. -a-

In Mid. Ir. *nácha-* gives place to *ndchas-*. This may be also used in the 3 sg. m. for the older *nachan-*.

SR. *nachas-cretiu* (pl. 3) 4700, *connachas-clai* (pl. 3) 5259.²

TT. sg. 3 m. *arnachas-torsed* 612, *nachas-rostts* 1570.

sg. 3 f. *nachas-renfad* 314, *nachas-bérad* 331.

AEN. *nachas-legid . . . hí* (3 sg. f.) 481^a10.

PH. sg. 3 f. *nachas-airimend* 5330, *nachus-failsig* 6087.

pl. 3. *ndchus-tocrdid na braithre* 8092.

¹ But in so old a text as SR. these instances may be safely put down as scribal corruptions. Instances of meaningless *-s-* from LU. are *ní-s-ragbad* 15^b20, *no-s-fuaisnither im Coinculaind* 127^a26.

² In 4381 for *nachas-tathigi* might have been expected *ndchas-tathiged*. That the pronoun is feminine is shown by *impe* 4388.

(β) DENTAL FORMS.

Under each pronoun the occurrences are arranged as follows :
 -a) relative use, (β) non-relative use, (γ) use after *ad-*, *con-*, etc.

I. -dn-, -d-.

SR. (α) *ro-dn-anacht* 6101, *ciphé no-d-marba*¹ . . . *Cain* 1993. Between the copula and a comparative²: *rig naile bád-ad-adamrú*, 'another king more wonderful than he' 6628.

(β) *ro-dm-bia* 812, *ro-dm-berb* 2846, *co ro-dm-brde* 5469, *ro-d-clái* 5470, *mani-d-cloe* 7441; *ro-d-bi* . . . *Iacob* 3049. In *ro-don-anacht* 6037 *-don-* appears for *-dn-*.³ In *rotdeib* 1055 the force of the *-t-* is not clear.

(γ) *atnaig*⁴ 3546, *conidn-arlassair* 3791, *conid-arlassair* 4791, *dian-tuc* 7646, *dian-farslaic* 7319, 7399. In *hé cotnarlaic* . . . *antsin* 3659, *cotnarlaic* is probably a scribal error for *cotnairlaic*. The meaning of *cotn-gaib*,⁵ etc., is obscure.

LG. (α) *ro-dn-uc* 18^b47, *ro-dn-all* 22^a32.

(γ) *conid-romarb* 16^b4, 19^b33, 51, 20^a7, 25, 22^b17, 23^a34.

TT. No examples.

BOR. No examples.

NENN. (β) *ro-d-fuc* (v. l. *rosfug*) 209^a45.

(γ) *conid-romarbh* 207^a28; *gonad-marb* . . . *he* 205^b30.

AEN. (β) *ro-d-fia* 452^b30, 466^b33 (bis), *no-d-geb* 471^a31, *ro-d-croithinn* 477^b1.

-d-, which is misused throughout, is here evidently a literary recrudescence.

LS. (β) *ro-d-rir* 195. In *no-t-gessiut 7 no-t-ailchet⁶ in Coimche*

¹ If the *-d-* is more than the relative *-d-*. In 2281, *rodrosat* is a corruption of *dorósat*. Examples of rel. *-d-*, 'him,' in later texts in LU. are *do-d-roega* 17^b7, *ro-d-fír* 51^b41 (in a poem ascribed to Cinaed hua Artacain).

² Cf. Thesaurus Palæohibernicus, II. 292, note 1.

³ Cf. *ru-dan-ordan* Wb. 33^e5.

⁴ But in Mid. Ir. the dental infix has become part of this verb. In *atraig* = *ad-d-raig*, lit. *he raises himself*, the infix pron. was from the outset a regular part of the verb; and in Mid. Ir. *atraig* replaces the fem. and pl. *ataregat*: cf. CZ. III. 414.

⁵ Strachan, Verbal System of the Saltair na Rann, II. 37 sq.

⁶ As to the orthography we shall have *-t-* (= unaspirated *-d-*) in the Mid.-Ir. descendants of neut. *-d-*, e.g. *fotera* = O. Ir. *fodera*.

694, the *-t-* seems to be simply ornamental. The same applies to the occurrence in

MC. (β) *ro-t-gab a trostán*.¹

PH. (a) *ro-t-mairnn* 3083, if the *-t-* is more than relative. In *is é in fégad sin ro-t-cuir Petar* 3199 the *-t-* is probably relative.

(β) *ro-t-fég* 1133.

As a literary curiosity may be mentioned *conid-romarb*, 'and slew her,' LU. 53^b14; *conidromarb*, 'slew him,' was a common phrase, and the writer here extends it to the feminine. In *cid iotæ no-t-gabad*, RC. xii 82, the pron. refers to a plural. In *issed conair ro-dn-gab* LU. 109^b7, *in breth ro-dn-ucad* 110^b35 *-dn-* is perversely used for relative *-n-*.

2. *-d-*

(a) of a relative neut. *-d-* meaning 'it,' I have found only one possible instance in our texts, namely, *feib léir ro-d-gellai* SR. 5816, and even here the *-d-* may be relative. Such a relative *-d-* is well established for Mid. Ir.² Instances are:—*intl no-d-faidmis* LU. 8^b16, *conid de ro-d-lil Goll de* 42^a33, *ind éadini do-d-rónsat* 51^a41, *is iat do-d-róni in smúitcheó* 83^a30, *cosin carn do-d-rónsat* 99^a7, *feib do-d-rítmiseo* 114^a27, *no-d-ragam* LG. 13^a39, *in maith ro-t-shechmallisamar* PH. 4749; for other examples see Atkinson, p. 890. As to the starting-point of this Mid.-Ir. development, there are two O.-Ir. usages which may have contributed to it. (1) In the verbs *fofera* and *doesta* *-d-* appears in relative forms³: *fo-d-era*,⁴ *do-d-esta*.⁵ (2) The neuter pronoun is used in the sense of what Pedersen calls the 'figura etymologica.'⁶ When the original force of this

¹ On p. 109 *bendachtu for cach noen notlegfa* (leg. *notlegfað*) 7 *notlessaigfed* looks like a traditional formula.

² Cf. CZ. III. 65.

³ Sommer, CZ. I. 220 sq.

⁴ *fodera* (*fotera*), *fodruair* (*fotruair*) remain in use in Mid. Ir., e.g. LU. 40^b43, 51^a14, 54^a18, TT. 90, 108, LG. 9^a21, MC. 53, 57, PH., p. 709.

⁵ Cf. *doesta* LU. 44^b33, but *testa* PH. p. 919, TT. 1100, CZ. II. 262, Ann. Ul. 1199.

⁶ KZ. XXXV. 415. Further examples from old texts are: *no-d-raga*, 'who shall go the aforementioned going,' 'who shall so go' LU. 19^a5, 9, *cid moch donit* (= *do-n-d-it*) 69^b32, *ni mé ro-d-mert* 84^a8, *do-d-ánic* 91^b13, *du-d-lotar* 99^a26.

-d- became weakened, it might easily come to be used merely in a relative sense.

(β) There is a meaningless *-d-* in *no-d-geib* Aen. 464^a37; but it may equally well have developed from the masculine pronoun. What the meaningless *-t-* in *na ro-t-saebtha* PH. 3984 represents is equally uncertain. Cf., further, *nid frith*, *nid tallas*, RC. xii 72, *nit regain a les*, 76, 78.

(γ) In Mid. Ir.¹ neut. *-d-* has become an integral part of many verbs beginning with *ad-* (*ad-*, *ass-*, *aith-*), e.g. *atbeir*, *atcht*, *atchtluin*, *atchota*, *atgebín*, etc. So in the Sagas *cotric* = *conric*, *cotrig* = *conérig* are not unusual; but with *con-* the *-d-* did not become common. In the verb *forzellaim* also *-t-* has become constant, cf. SR. 3581 (further *fotroirgell* 3385), and Glossary to PH. s. v. *forzellaim*.² That in Mid.-Ir. texts the infix pronoun has ever any meaning in these forms I have no evidence. The O.-Ir. relative *assid-*, *conid-*, etc. (see above, p. 156) have disappeared in Mid. Ir.

3. *-da-*.

The only one of our texts from which I have instances of *-da-* in its O.-Ir. usage is SR.

(α) *ro-da-gni* 163, *no-da-foilcc* 251, *ro-da-mert* (= O. Ir. *ro-n-da-mert*) 2779, *ro-da-triall* 7197.

(γ) *cota-oi* 646, *for-da-midet* (?) 108, *cota-coimsed* (= O. Ir. *cota-messed*) 5387.

(β) But the form is also found where the verb is not relative:—*fo-do-ralaíd* 2189, so probably *co ro-da-bades* 2182. Further instances of this usage from LU. are: *no-da-sénsat* 24^a30, *ni-dá-tánsem* (where we might have expected *nístánsem* or *náchatánsem*) 56^b16, *ar-da-slig* 56^a4,

¹ In O. Ir. the occurrences are Wb. *atruirmed* 2^c6, *atroillisset* 4^c15, *atrotreab* 26^d3; Ml. *atrim* 49^a11; in 123^b15 *atindided*, if it is not to be corrected to *ataindided*, might contain a neut. pron., cf. *darolgid dom tra in frithorcuin sin* Wb. 18^a12. In Wb. 4^c15, 26^d3 the verb is relative, in 2^c6 it is not according to the rule in Wb. In Ml. 49^a11 *atrim* might possibly be relative, cf. CZ. IV. 67. The instances in Wb. would seem to indicate that the form arose first in relative use; and it is not unnatural that *atbeir* should have been used for *asbeir* before it was used for *asbeir*. But the lacuna in tradition does not permit us to trace the development of the form; in SR. *asbeir* and *atbeir* seem to be used promiscuously.

² In O. Ir. *-t-* may always be a neut. pron.; the occurrences are given by Sommer, CZ. I. 221.

im-da-cuiret 87^b18, *no-dd-sinet* 87^b18, *no-da-samaigetur* 90^a27, *im-da-tuigethar* 95^b25.

By a further extension *-da-* is also used of the masc. sg. Instances from S.R. are :—*ata-comoing* (sc. *Abisolón*) 6920, *cona-fuair* 3697, *cono-tuctais* . . . *in mac* 3702, *ro-da-car* (non-rel.) 3173, 3705, *ro-do-bris* . . . *cath* 5573. Further instances are: *con-da-tarat* LU. 22^b37, *cono-rucur* 54^a23, *conda-esur biad* 104^a24, *con-da-accatar* (where another MS. has *connfaccatar*) *ni* 128^b1, *ro-ta-cursaigh* (rel.) LS. 2559, *con-da-gaib* MC. 13, *ratafetamar* LL. 98^a23, 38, 98^b1, 29, etc. In *cáta helta ilerda ataciam*? Bor. 302^a38, *ataciam* means no more than *atchiam*.

4. **-das-, -dos-¹**

SR. (a) sg. 3 f. *fo-das-niada* (leg. *fo-das-riada*) 288, *ro-das-fessad* 562, *ro-das-derscaig* 4423, *ro-das-ta* 7527.

pl. 3. *do-dos-rosat* 564, *ro-dosassai*² 2564, *ro-dosas* 4065, *ar-dos-cé* . . . *in crann ocus in nathraig* 4165, *ro-das-car* 2991, *do-dasaer* 3985, *ro-das-cinn* 4231, *ro-das-briathái* 4636, *do-das-sder* 4818, *ro-das-traeth* 4993, *ro-das-lln* . . . *clanna* 5049, *ro-das-lanlln* 5076, *ro-dasidaig* 5203, *ro-dasaer* 5257, 5276, *ro-das-gní* . . . *ildelba* 7269.

(β) sg. 3 f. *no-dosai* 3863, *ro-dosamaig* 2200.

pl. 3. *do-dos-ruasat* 676, 1110, *ro-das-gab* 2688, *ro-das-crin* 3399, *ro-dosmachtaigset* 3637, *ro-dos-dairsatar* 3665, *do-das-fuaid* 3860, *ro-dos-terbaisset* 4653, *ro-das-faidset* 4655, *ro-das-troeth* 4995, *ro-das-bate* 5279, *ro-das-dder* 5289, 5293, *ro-dos-slechtsat* 5491, *ro-das-lln* 5547, *do-dos-rat* 5867, *ro-doselaig* 6549, *ro-dos-dedaig* 6550, *ro-das-troeth* 6553, 7051,

¹ These are the instances of the form which I have noted in LU. :—

sg. 3 f. *dianos-faictis* 28^a10, *ro-das-bennach* (v., non-rel.) 53^a13, *ro-dd-samsubaid*, (v., leg. *-subaig*) 53^a15, *conas-tarat* 54^b15, *dánas-tairsed* 79^b37.

pl. 3. *do-das-athiged* (non-rel.; the form in this old text marks the sentence as an interpolation) 19^a24, *conos-rala* 16^a19, *con-das-fil* 17^b19, *conos-tairsed* 22^a21, *conos-tarla* 26^a6, *atas-foprát* 26^a39, *atas-comnaic* 28^a12, *conos-beir* 29^a23, 31, *no-das-ceil* (v.) 38^a37.

sg. 3 m. *do-dos-celt* (v.) 38^a39, *conos-tanic* (?) 50^b2, *conos-tarraid* 105^a21 (if it does not refer to Cuchulinn and his charioteer); *cordasmesc* 77^b36 (= *coromesc* LL.) seems a mere corruption.

² Where the following letter is *-s-* it is uncertain whether the writer meant *-da-* or *das-*; the instances have been given under *-das-* because that is the predominant form.

ro-dasmacht . . . *in macrad* 7155, *ro-dasaer* 7392, *ro-das-hicc* 7636; once *ro-dosn-airg*¹ 5415.

(γ) sg. 3 f. *conos-tuc* 1665, *conas-rucur* 1666.

pl. 3. *atas-comaing* 5320, *conas-tarraid* 864, *conos-ti* 1452, *conos-tucam* 3979, *conas-torslaic* 5287, *con-dos-suersat* 5295, *con-das-fuair* . . . *diingin* 2933, *con-das-tarraid* 3019.

LG. (γ) sg. 3 f. *atos-condairc* 3^b9, *conos-toracht* 5⁶, 6².

pl. 3. *conos-fuair* 20^b31.

TT. (γ) pl. 3. *con-das-rala* 1343, *conascailend* 1989.

BOR. (γ) pl. 3. *atas-cim* 303^b15.

AEN.² (γ) pl. 3. *conus-rogab* 457^a4.

LS. (α) pl. 3. *ro-tas-gabh* 3800.

(β) pl. 3. *no-tas-sloicc* 491.

(γ) sg. 3 f. *conus-ibh* 54, *conus-tarraid* 2791, *conas-tall* 1337.

MC. (α) pl. 3. *na-dos-faguib* 95.

(β) pl. 3. *fo-dos-ceirdi* . . . *na mtrenda* 97.

PH. (γ) sg. 3 f. *conus-techtad trocaire* 4123, *conus-léic soigit* 7184.

pl. 3. *conus-imorcuirit* 1823, *conus-dernai* 6630, *conus-féga nem 7 talmain* 6629.

The form also spreads to the masc. sg. (usually after *con-*, etc.). In SR. the usage is only beginning: *ro-dosds* . . . *Noe* (rel.) 2541, if it be not plural, *ro-dasder* . . . *Raab* 7345. Examples from our other texts are:—

LG. *conos-fuaratar* 22^b30.

TT. *conas-tuc* 425.

NENN. *conas-tarla* 208^a35.

MC. *dianos-tarla* (?) 95.

PH. *conus-uc* 3941, *conus-fuair* 6303, *dianus-tarda fadéin* 4858, *conus-increchsom he* 4132, *conus-tesairced a mac* 6625, *conus-tidnaice* . . . *bethaid* 6631. The frequent addition of the noun in this text shows that the pronoun has lost its force, and hence, like *-s-*, it is sometimes meaningless: *conus-fortachtaige* 1423, 4158, *conus-fetatar combad he* 6331.

¹ In *ro-dos-pianta* 5418, if the text be sound, the pronoun is meaningless; leg. probably *rodospianai*.

² At 466^b3 *ro-dus-tuc* is found, where an infix pron. of the second person might have been expected; so *do-s-fuc* 466^b4, we should have looked for an infix pronoun of the first person.

V. THE INDEPENDENT PRONOUN.

We have seen above the simplification in Mid. Ir. of the O. Ir. infix pronoun. In the first and second persons the dental forms disappear, except after *ad-*, *con-*, and the like; in the third person everything becomes *-s-*, or, after *ad-*, *con-*, etc., *-dos-*, *-nos-*; in late texts *-s-* itself is a literary survival, and is often inserted where it has no meaning. From the eleventh century the infix pronoun has a rival in the independent pronoun. In SR. I have noted no examples.¹ In the eleventh century MS. LU. it is already common in the later and more popular texts. Thus in the commentary on the Amra we find:—*cona ragbad . . . hé 14^b31, notaidled . . . eat 13^a28, nofegad . . . eat 13^a27, rothogmainġ . . . he 14^b34.*² In the Scéla Láí Brátha we have *atchoncamdmárni thú 32^a21, atchon-narcdmár . . . tú 32^a22, atconcamár . . . thú 32^a22*; infix. *nacha-s-ragbad 32^a1, do-s-beir 33^a47*. Other occurrences on LU. are:—

Dá Brón: *dogní . . . hé 18^a1.*

Aided Echach: *robaist . . . hí 41^b7.*

¹ Examples of the independent pronoun in the nom. are:—*bráthir sinn 3493, ecoitcinn eat 5517*. Similar occurrences in LU. may not be without interest, as showing that in the eleventh century the pronoun had advanced far towards its modern form.

Commentary on the Amra C.C.:—*robo lesmac di é 5^a36, is crot cen cheis iatside 8^b37, nipo lais é 9^a42, corbo húath hé 10^a6, ba gas hé 11^a4, tóit lan do déirc eseom 12^a36, is oll in trenfer hé 13^a23, nirbo nemdil . . . hé 14^a41, nirbec hé 14^a42.*

Senchas na Relec:—*noadnaictis iat 51^a23, 24, combad he . . . hé 51^a44.*

Aided Echach:—*frithailter misi 41^a2, tucad . . . hí 41^a14, rogabad hí 41^a33, robaided hé 41^a23, tarras hí 41^a34, robo leis hí 41^a32.*

Foitha Catha Cnucha: *ní thucad dó hí 42^a13, robo torrach hí 42^a43.*

Fis Adamnán: *cél arthus he 29^b39, acairbiu hé 30^b33.*

Fled Bricend: *is la Coinculaind . . . hé 112^a24, dia tibertha hé 112^a43, is é gaiscedach as dech . . . hé 101^a39, dogena-sib (v. l. dogena-su) 99^b47.*

Imram Curaig Máeledúin: *combd mac . . . hé 22^b29, Maelduin . . . esside 22^b38, cf. 22^b14.*

Táin Bó Flidais: *ní herfaider . . . sibsi* (variant without *sibsi*) 21^a19.

Tochmarc Emire: *stíalt ar chapur hé 121^a37.*

Táin Bó Cuailnge: *da chomais sind 73^b7.*

Togail Bruidne Dá Derga: *dá chomalta dosom iat* (*iat* an interpolation of LU.) 83^a14, *roadnacht . . . hé 98^b24.*

² As to the infix pronouns, *nimreilge 7^b13* is a quotation from the text. The only other clear instances are *nosbliged 13^a32*, and *nongeba 13^a6*, for the occurrences in verse quotations do not count. At 11^a2, 3 both text and gloss are quotations.

- Fotha Catha Cnucha : *nir leic cuci hÍ* 42^a43.
 Cath Cairn Chonaill : *hi tarat hé* 116^a20, *rosdraig . . . hé* 116^a20.
 Comthoth Loegairi : *bennachais . . . hé* 118^a24.
 Scél Túain : *lenad . . . sind* 16^a33.
 Tucait Innarba na nDessi : *tabair d'old hé* 53^b19.
 Fled Bricrend : *dorat . . . tat* 105^a33, *ni léicfemni . . . hé* 105^a39, *tarraid hé* 108^b27, *fóidís iat* 109^a9, *comallas . . . hé* 110^b12, *ni chosna . . . hé* 110^a8.¹
 Imram Curaig Máiledúin : *roarigsetar . . . eatsom* 26^a39.
 Tochmarc Emire : *rocharsat . . . hé* 121^b35, *rochrechtnaig . . . eseom* 126^a28, *fogéba messi* 126^a41.
 Serglige Conculaind : *co fuarusa hé* (v.) 48^a3, *robuadir . . . hÍ* 49^b23, *co tuctais . . . hé* 50^a43.
 Togail Bruidne Dá Derga : *tanairsed . . . sibsi* (*sibsi* not in YBL.) 91^b28, *roleg . . . hé* 98^b20.²
 Táin Bó Cúailnge : *ara naiscea dó hÍ* 71^a35, *connd fostba sib* 71^a37, *facbais iat* 71^b3, *ní fælsaid tat* 72^a9, *geogain iat* 72^b23, *conmel . . . hé* 82^b31.³

The evidence of LU., then, shows that the independent pronoun was in common use before the end of the eleventh century.⁴ It remains to give the occurrences from the texts used for the history of the infix pronoun.

LG. *dia ruc . . . iat* 3^a5, *coromarbsat . . . é* 9^a39, cf. 22^a40, 42, *facbaid é* 20^b37,⁵ *co rochuir iat* 20^b25.

TT. *co rafuilnge . . . sein sib* 1796; *fuatarar . . . hé* 13, so 121, 342, 412, 518, 1234, 1839; *romarb essium* 463; *rachluin . . . heside* 406; *tucsat . . . iat* 368, so 444, 915, 1600.⁶

¹ Cf. Thurneysen, CZ. IV. 200 sq.

² The passage is not in YBL.

³ All the instances but the last come from a passage which is not in YBL., and which otherwise in its language shows signs of lateness. The remaining example also comes from an episode not in YBL.

⁴ Compare with this the evidence from the Annals of Ulster, above, p. 169.

⁵ Independent pronoun as nom. : *do chlaind Magoth . . . é* 5^a10, *fer co ndanaib . . . iside* 9^b10, *da brathair iat* 3^a48, *co rolaad . . . é* 22^b28, *co ructha . . . iat* 20^b49.

⁶ As nom. : *intan ba gilla bec mi* 1261; *rachubraig sé Hercoil* 415; *ba gilla bec iside* 700, so 606, 763; *primchathir . . . iside* 29, so 46, 85, 365; *daringned ém iside*, 'that was done,' 161; *contis iat in coblach uli tat* 554, so 196; *rafostad . . . é* 1949, so 57, 400, 949; *rucad . . . hi* 143, *marbthair hi* 448.

BOR. *gebes ecla tú* 303^b17, *dorat . . . é* 300^b10, so 300^b28, 301^b43, 304^a14, 304^b31; *na fuilngidsi hí* 303^a6, so 306^a37; *ni innisfem iat* 301^b3, so 304^b1, 307^b47, 308^a32.¹

NENN. *roinnarbsat . . . he* 205^b17, so 205^b30; *co rosidaigestar . . . iad* 206^b22.²

AEN. *romuirfidis me* 454^a1, so 450^b19, 450^b20, 478^b17; *dosfuc sinde* 466^b11; *ni bera ass tu fen* 480^b36, *rodiligset . . . thu* 484^b11; *ni lema . . . sib* 476^a42; *co rocarad . . . he* 452^b37, so 467^b30, 468^a10, 471^b18, 478^b16, 479^b15; *rofuc iat* 451^a19, so 458^b42, 463^b22, 466^b30, 468^a1, 471^a22, 472^b24, 473^a32, 473^b24.³

LS. *geibh misi* 3492, *muirbhfit . . . mhisi* 3438; *corosfoire sinne* 3171; *stn . . . tú* 3439, *corofreagra . . . thu* 2893; *rocarussa sibhsi* 3937; *berail . . . hé* 3551, so 4315, 4658; *atclidh hí* 3384; *nolinfad iat* 1301, so 1361, 2557, 3180, 3329, 4196, 4800.⁴

MC., *dober he* 43², so 45¹³; *oslaicis hí* 23¹⁰.⁵

PH. See Atkinson's Glossary, p. 868.

In O.-Ir. texts preserved in Mid.-Ir. manuscripts, a not infrequent form of corruption is that, where there is already an infix pronoun, an independent pronoun is added after the later fashion. Thus LU. 59^a33 has *connachrancaidár hé*, where YBL. has no *hé*; similarly *diandingbaitea fessin hé* 72^b37, where *hé* is wanting in YBL.; *ní ránic hé* 111^a24, where another text has *ní ránic*. Such corruptions seem to be imitated in the later literary style, e.g.:

LG. *no-s-beir iat* 20^b44.

¹ As nom.: *ragaid missi* 305^b39, *dá marbthar misse* 304^a3; *ni mairfidar thú* 304^a35, *damba sathchu sib* 303^b12; *corop din dam é* 303^b26, so 307^a10; *is sochaide iat* 304^b18; *rolinad . . . e* 300^b30, so 303^a18, 303^b27, 304^b22; *forsandigeltar iat* 301^a31, so 302^b15.

² As nom. *bod rig . . . tu* 208^a37; *atcondairc se* 209^b36; *da mac Silui iad* 205^b38; *co torth[r]omthai . . . he* 209^a7; *tucthar as iat* (= *tucthar as* LU.) 210^b44.

³ As nom.: *adcondairc missi* 455^a21; *Troiandaig sindi* 469^b7, so 469^b23; *connachcæmsad sibsi* 454^a24, so 466^b30, 479^b19; *is suaicr he* 456^a42, so 449^b10, 456^a47, 460^b18, 462^b8, 463^b8, 465^b13, 469^a6, 470^b26, 471^a12, 472^b7, *torothor iside* 457^a10, so 450^a43, 462^b26, 463^a44, 465^b7, 467^b22; *robtar toirsig iad* 470^a4, so 472^a6, 460^b25; *romarbthar . . . he* 459^a14; *arna tucthai . . . hi* 467^b12; *doberar . . . iat* 453^b12, so 461^a10.

⁴ As nom.: *bid manaigh . . . inne* 3196; *is sendir thu* 3495, *cu rogabha tú* 3453; *deinmedhaigh iatsein* 1374, so 2945.

⁵ As nom.: *araisle lach . . . esside* 3, so 5¹, 9³; *comba métithir . . . hí* 53¹; *ba faide iat* 51²⁶; *rofuirmed he* 19¹⁰, so 25¹², 55¹⁶, 63²⁶; *immangabar hí* 81²³.

INFIXED PRONOUN IN MIDDLE IRISH 179

NENN. *cid ornamtugadh . . . mhe* 210^b28, *gonadmarb a mac he* 205^b30.

AEN. *ro-n-geb oman sinne* 454^a40, *ro-s-tocaib he* 461^a24; *ro-s-marb i* 464^a24, so 456^b38, 483^a39, 481^a10; *no-s-geb . . . iat* 451^a17, so 450^b7, 452^a40, 463^a19, 469^b3.

PH. See Atkinson's Glossary, p. 857.

Further examples will be found above, pp. 164 sq.

J. STRACHAN.

THE BOYISH EXPLOITS OF FINN¹

1. **T**HERE befell a meeting of valour and a contest of battle about the chieftaincy of the *fan* and about the high-stewardship of Ireland between Cumall, son of Trénmór, and Urgriu, son of Lugaid Corr of the Luaigni.² That Cumall was of the Corco Oche of Cúil Contuind,³ for to these the Ui Tairrsig, Cumall's tribe, belonged. Torba, daughter of Eochaman of the Erne, was the wife of Cumall, until he married Muirne of the fair neck.

2. Then the battle of Cnucha⁴ was fought between them, to wit, between Cumall and Urgriu. Daire the Red, son of Echaid the Fair, son of Coirpre the Valorous, son of Muiredach, and his son Aed were fighting the battle along with Urgriu. Another name for that Daire was Morna Wryneck. So the battle was fought. Luchet and Aed, son of Morna, met in the battle. Luchet wounded Aed, and destroyed one of his eyes, whence the name of Goll (*i.e.* the One-eyed) came to him from that time forth. Luchet fell by Goll. The man who kept Cumall's treasure-bag wounded Cumall in the battle. Cumall fell in the battle by Goll, son of Morna, who carried off his spoils and his head, whence there was a hereditary feud between Finn and the sons of Morna.

3. Hence sang the shanachie :—

“ Goll, son of Daire the Red, with fame,
Son of Echaid the Fair, of valour fair,
Son of Cairpre the Valorous with valour,
Son of Muiredach from Findmag.”⁵

¹ Translated from the original Irish in *Revue Celtique*, v., p. 197 ff. Cf. *Archiv für Celtische Lexikographie*, vol. I., p. 482.

² “A famous military sept in Meath,” O'D.

³ “A territory situated on the borders of the present counties of Meath and Cavan,” O'D.

⁴ Now Castleknock, near the Liffey, Co. Dublin.

⁵ “A plain in the barony of Athlone, Co. Roscommon,” O'D.

" Goll slew Luchet of the hundreds
In the battle of Cnucha, 'tis no falsehood :
Luchet the Fair of prowess bright¹
Fell by the son of Morna.

" By him fell great Cumall
In the battle of Cnucha of the hosts.
'Tis for the chieftaincy of Erin's fian
That they waged the stout battle.

" The children of Morna were in the battle
And the Luaigni of Tara,
Since to them belonged the leadership² of the men of Fál³
By the side of every valorous king.

" Victorious Cumall had a son,
The Finn, bloody, of weapons hard :
Finn and Goll, great their fame,
Mightily they waged war.

" Afterwards they made peace,
Finn and Goll of the hundred deeds,
Until Banb Sinna fell
About the pig at Tara Luachra.⁴

" Aed was the name of the son of Daire
Until Luchet with glory wounded him :
Since the fierce lance had wounded him,
Therefore was he called Goll."

4. Cumall left his wife Muirne pregnant. And she brings forth a son, to whom the name of Demne was given. Fiacail, son of Conchenn, and Bodbmall the druidess, and the Grey one of Luachair came to Muirne, and carry away the boy, for his mother durst not let him be with her. Muirne afterwards slept with Gleor Red-hand, king of the Lamraige,⁵ whence⁶ the saying, 'Finn, son of Gleor.' Bodbmall, however, and the Grey one, and the boy with them, went into the forest of Slieve Bloom. There the boy was secretly reared. That was indeed necessary, for many a sturdy stalwart youth, and many a

¹ Read *Luicet Finn in gaiscid glain*.

² i.e. the headship of the fian (*fianus*).

³ A poetical name for Ireland.

⁴ See the "Cause of the Battle of Cnucha," translated by Hennessy, Rev. Celt. II., p. 86 ff.

⁵ "A people of Kerry," O'D.

⁶ Read *conid [d]eiside*.

venomous hostile warrior and angry fierce champion of the warriors of the Luaigni and of the sons of Morna were lying in wait for that boy, and for Tulcha, the son of Cumall. In that manner then those two women-warriors reared him for a long time.

5. Then, at the end of six years, his mother came to visit her son, for she had been told that he was in that place, and besides, she was afraid of the sons of Morna for him. However, she passed from one wilderness to another, until she reached the forest of Slieve Bloom. She found the hunting-booth and the boy asleep in it. And then she lifts the boy to her bosom, and presses him to her, and she pregnant at the time.¹ It was then she made the quatrains, fondling her son :—

“ Sleep in peaceful slumber,” &c.

Thereupon the woman bade farewell to the women-warriors, and told them to take charge² of the boy till he should be fit to be a warrior. And so the boy grew up till he was able to hunt.

6. On a certain day the boy went out alone, and saw ducks upon a lake. He sent a shot among them, which cut off the feathers and wings of one, so that a trance fell upon her ; and then he seized her and took her with him to the hunting-booth. And that was Finn's first chase.

7. He afterwards went with certain (*cairds*) to flee from the sons of Morna, and was with them about Crotta.³ These were their names: Futh⁴ and Ruth and Regna of Moy Fea, and Temle, and Olpe, and Rogein. There scurvy came upon him, and therefrom he became a scald, whence he used to be called Demne the Bald. At that time there was a reaver in Leinster, Fiacaíl, the son of Codna. Then in Feeguile⁵ Fiacaíl came upon the *cairds*, and killed them all save Demne alone. After that he

¹ The Irish is *ocus sí trom iarum*, which should not, I think, as has been suggested, be rendered ‘and she pregnant thereafter,’ *iarum* here having the force of *tra* (see Windisch, Wörterbuch, p. 613) and not of *iarsin*. Besides, *ocus sí* denotes an accompanying circumstance.

² For this meaning of *indgabaim*, see Manners and Customs, I., p. lxxxv, n. 104.

³ “i.e. Crotta Cliach, now the Galty mountains in the south of County Tipperary,” O’D.

⁴ Wrongly printed *Tuth* in Rev. Celt. v., p. 199.

⁵ “In the parish of Cloonsast, north of Portarlinton, King’s County,” O’D.

was with Fiacail, the son of Codna, in his house in Sescenn Uair-beóil.¹ The two women-warriors came southwards to the house of Fiacail, the son of Codna, in search of Demne, and he is given to them. And then they take him with them from the south to the same place.

8. One day he went out alone until he reached Moy Liffey,² and a certain stronghold there; and he saw the youths hurling upon the green of the stronghold there. He went to contend in running or in hurling with them. He came again the next day, and they put one-fourth of their number against him. Again they come with one-third of their number against him. However, at last they all go against him, and he won his game from them all.

9. "What is thy name?" they said. "Demne," said he. The youths tell that to the man of the stronghold. "Then kill him,³ if ye know how to do it—if ye are able to do it," said he. "We should not be able to do aught to him," said they. "Did he tell you his name?" says he. "He said," say they, "that his name was Demne." "What does he look like?" said he. "A shapely fair (*finn*) youth," said they. "Then Demne shall be named Finn (the Fair)," said he. Whence the youths used to call him Finn.

10. He came to them on the next day, and went to them at their game. All together they throw their hurlets at him. He turns among them, and throws seven of them to the ground. He went from them into the forest of Slieve Bloom.

11. Then, at the end of a week, he came back to the same place. The youths were swimming in a lake that was close by. The youths challenge him to come and try to drown them. Thereupon he jumps into the lake to them, and drowns nine of them in the lake. And after that he goes to Slieve Bloom. "Who drowned the youths?" everybody asks. "Finn," say they. So that henceforth [the name] Finn clave to him.

12. Once he went forth across Slieve Bloom, and the two women-warriors together with him, when a fleet herd of wild deer is seen [by them] on the ridge of the mountain. "Alas!" say

¹ i.e. the Swamp of Uar-bél or Cold-Mouth, somewhere in Leinster.

² "The plain of the Liffey, a very level plain in County Kildare," O'D.

³ Read *marbaid-si de é*.

the two old women, "that we cannot get hold of one of those!"¹ "I can," [says Finn], and he dashes upon them, and lays hold of two bucks among them, and brings them with him to their hunting-booth. After that he would hunt for them constantly. "Go from us now, lad," said the women-warriors to him, "for the sons of Morna are watching to kill thee."

13. Alone he went from them until he reached Lough Leane,² above Luachair,³ and there he took military service with the king of Bantry. At that place he did not make himself known. However, there was not at that time a hunter his equal. Thus said the king to him:—"If Cumall had left a son," says he, "one would think thou wast he. However, we have not heard of his leaving a son, except Tulcha mac Cumail, and he is in military service with the king of Scotland."

14. He afterwards bids farewell to the king, and goes from them to Carbrige, which at this day is [called] Kerry,⁴ and takes military service with the king of that land. Then, on a certain day, the king came to play *fidchell*. He was prompted by Finn, and won seven games one after another. "Who art thou?" says the king. "The son of a peasant of the Luaigni of Tara," says he. "No," says the king, "but thou art the son whom Muirne bore to Cumall, and be here no longer, lest thou be slain [while] under my protection."

15. Then he went forth to Cullen⁵ of the Ui Cuanach,⁶ to the house of Lochán, a chief smith, who had a very beautiful daughter, Cruithne by name. She fell in love with the youth. "I shall give thee my daughter, though I know not who thou art." Thereupon the girl slept with the youth. "Make spears for me," said the youth to the smith. So Lochán made two spears for him. He then bade farewell to Lochán, and went away. "My son," says Lochán, "do not go upon the road on which is the sow called the Beo." She it was that devastated the

¹ Read *ní tic dín astud*, &c.

² The great Lake of Killarney.

³ i.e. Luchair Dedad, "a district in the County of Kerry, containing the two Pap mountains," O'D.

⁴ "The territory so called extended in ancient times only from Tralee to the Shannon," O'D.

⁵ "In the County of Tipperary, near the borders of the County of Limerick," O'D.

⁶ Coonagh is now the name of a barony, County Limerick.

midlands of Munster. But what happened to the youth was to go upon the very road on which the sow was. Then the sow charged him ; but he thrust his spear at her, so that it went through her, and left her without life. Then he takes the head of the sow with him to the smith as a bridal gift for his daughter. Hence is Slieve Muck¹ in Munster.

16. After that the youth went onwards into Connaught to seek Crimall, the son of Trénmór. As he was on his way, he heard the wail of a woman. He went towards it, and saw a woman ; and now it was tears of blood, and now a gush of blood, so that her mouth was red. "Thou art red-mouthed, woman!" says he. "Good cause have I," says she, "for my only son has been slain by a tall, very terrible warrior who came in my way." "What was thy son's name?" says he. "Glonda was his name," says she. Hence is the Ford of Glonda and the Causeway of Glonda on Moinmoy,² and from that redness of mouth the Ford of the Red Mouth³ has been so called ever since. Then Finn went in pursuit of the warrior, and they fight a combat, and he fell by him. This is how he was: he had the treasure-bag with him, to wit, the treasures of Cumall. He who had fallen there was the Grey one of Luachair, who had dealt the first wound to Cumall in the battle of Cnucha.

17. Thereupon he goes into Connaught, and finds Crimall as an old man in a desert wood there, and a number of the old *fian* together with him ; and it is they who did the hunting for him. Then he shows (?) him the bag, and told him his story from beginning to end ; how he had slain the man of the treasures. Finn bade farewell to Crimall, and went to learn poetry from Finnéces, who was on the Boyne.⁴ He durst not remain in Ireland else, until he took to poetry, for fear of the son of Urgriu, and of the sons of Morna.

18. Seven years Finnéces had been on the Boyne, watching the salmon of Fec's Pool⁵ ; for it had been prophesied of him

¹ *Slíab Muicce*, 'the Mountain of the Sow.'

² "A territory lying round Lough Reagh, County Galway," O'D.

³ "Not identified, unless it be Ballyderg," O'D.

⁴ "For the poets thought that the place where poetry was revealed always was upon the brink of water" (*ar bá baile fallsigthe éicsi dogrés lasna fíledu for bri usci*), LL. p. 186 a.

⁵ "A deep pool in the River Boyne, near *Ferta Fer Fecc*, the ancient name of the village of Slane, on this river," O'D.

that he would eat the salmon of Féc, when nothing would remain unknown to him. The salmon was found, and Demne was then ordered to cook the salmon; and the poet told him not to eat anything of the salmon. The youth brought him the salmon after cooking it. "Hast thou eaten anything of the salmon, my lad?" says the poet. "No," says the youth, "but I burned my thumb, and put it into my mouth afterwards." "What is thy name, my lad?" says he. "Demne," says the youth. "Finn is thy name, my lad," says he; "and to thee was the salmon given to be eaten, and verily thou art the Finn." Thereupon the youth eats the salmon. It is that which gave the knowledge to Finn, to wit, whenever he put his thumb into his mouth, and sang through *teinm láida*,¹ then whatever he had been ignorant of would be revealed to him.

19. He learnt the three things that constitute a poet, to wit, *teinm láida* and *imbas forosna*² and *dichetul dichennaib*.³ It is then Finn made this lay to prove his poetry⁴:—

20. May-day, season surpassing! Splendid is colour then. Blackbirds sing a full lay, if there be a slender shaft of day.
 The dust-coloured cuckoo calls aloud: Welcome, splendid summer! The bitterness of bad weather is past, the boughs of the wood are a thicket.
 Summer cuts the river down, the swift herd of horses seeks the pool, the long hair of the heather is outspread, the soft white bog-down grows.
 Panic startles the heart of the deer, the smooth sea runs apace,—season when ocean sinks asleep,—blossom covers the world.
 Bees with puny strength carry a goodly burden, the harvest of blossoms; up the mountain-side kine take with them mud, the ant makes a rich meal.
 The harp of the forest sounds music, the sail gathers—perfect peace. Colour has settled on every height, haze on the lake of full waters.
 The corncrake, a strenuous bard, discourses; the lofty virgin waterfall sings a welcome to the warm pool; the talk of the rushes is come.
 Light swallows dart aloft, loud melody reaches round the hill, the soft rich mast buds, the stuttering quagmire rehearses.
 The peat-bog is as the raven's coat, the loud cuckoo bids welcome, the speckled fish leaps, strong is the bound of the swift warrior.
 Man flourishes, the maiden buds in her fair strong pride; perfect each forest from top to ground, perfect each great stately plain.

¹ "Illumination (?) of song."

² "Knowledge which illumines."

³ "Extempore incantation."

⁴ A translation of this poem appeared in my "Four Songs of Summer and Winter" (London, D. Nutt, 1903), whence I reprint it here.

Delightful is the season's splendour, rough winter has gone, white is every fruitful wood, a joyous peace is summer.

A flock of birds settles in the midst of meadows; the green field rustles, wherein is a brawling white stream.

A wild longing is on you to race horses, the ranked host is ranged around: a bright shaft has been shot into the land, so that the water-flag is gold beneath it.

A timorous tiny persistent little fellow sings at the top of his voice, the lark sings clear tidings: surpassing May-day of delicate colours!

21. However, Finn went to Cethern, the son of Fintan, further to learn poetry with him. At that time there was a very beautiful maiden in Bri Ele,¹ that is to say, in the fairy-knoll of Bri Ele, and the name of that maiden was Ele. The men of Ireland were at feud about that maiden. One man after another went to woo her. Every year on Hallowe'en the wooing used to take place; for the fairy-knolls of Ireland were always open about Hallowe'en; for on Hallowe'en nothing could ever be hidden in the fairy-knolls. To each man that went to woo her this used to happen: one of his people was slain. This was done to mark the occasion, nor was it ever found out who did it.

22. Like everybody else, the poet Cethern went to woo the maiden. However, Finn did not like the poet's going on that errand. At that time the name of Cumall's son was Finnécs. As they went to the wooing they formed themselves into three bands. There were nine in each band. As they went towards the fairy-knoll, a man of their people was slain between them; and it was not known who had slain him. Oircbel the poet was the name of the man that was slain there. Hence is Fert Oircbeil (the Grave of O.) in Clonfad. Thereupon they separated, and Finn went from them and . . .² However, Finn thought it a grievance and a great disgrace.³

23. He went until he came to the house of the champion Fiacail mac Conchinn, at Slievemargue.⁴ It is there his dwelling was at that time. To him, then, Finn made his complaint, and told him how the man had been slain among them in the fairy-

¹ Now the Hill of Croghan, King's County. Cf. Cruachan Brig Ele, § 26.

² I do not know what to make of *ni thaire*.

³ The whole incident is mentioned in a poem by Gilla in Chomded in LL. p. 144 b, 44 ff.

⁴ In the S.-E. of Queen's County.

knoll. Fiacail told him to go and sit down by the two Paps of Anu,¹ behind Luachair.² So he went and sat down between the two strongholds which are between the two Paps of Anu.

24. Now, when Finn was there between them, on Hallowe'en night, he saw the two fairy-knolls opened around him, even the two strongholds, their ramparts having vanished before them. And he saw a great fire in either of the two strongholds; and he heard a voice from one of them, which said: "Is your sweet food good?" "Good, indeed!" said a voice in the other fairy-knoll. "A question. Shall anything be taken from us to you?" "If that be given to us, something will be given to you in return." While Finn was there he saw a man coming out of the fairy-knoll. A kneading-trough was in his hand with a . . . ³ pig upon it, and a cooked calf, and a bunch of wild garlic upon it. That was Hallowe'en. The man came past Finn to reach the other knoll. Finn made a cast with the spear of Fiacail mac Conchinn. He hurled it southward from him towards Slievemargue. (Then said Finn: "If the spear should reach any one of us, may he escape(?) alive from it! I think this was a revenge for my comrade."⁴)

Swine
Molif

cf
Songlige

25. That passes, till forthwith he heard a lament, and a great wail, saying:—

Aed
AL. at ?
"On the Barrow, by a sharp-pointed spear,
Aed, Fidga's son, has fallen:
By the spear of Fiacail, Codna's son,
Finn has slain him . . ."⁵

Then Fiacail came to Finn, and was at the two Paps of Anu. Fiacail asked him whom he had slain. ("I know not," saith Finn, "whether any good has come from the cast which I have thrown.") "Tis likely, indeed," said Fiacail, "that some one has been slain. It seems to me if thou do not do it to-night, thou wilt not do it to the end of another year." However, Finn said that he had sent a cast, and that it seemed likely to him

Ser glige

¹ Two mountains still so called in the barony of Magunihy, County Kerry.

² i.e. Luchair Dedad.

³ I do not know the meaning of *slainsi*.

⁴ This incident is referred to in the poem beginning *Echta Lagen for Leth Chuind*, LL. 48 b 41; and again in Gilla in Chomded's poem, LL. 145 a 2.

⁵ *iar n-imdai = ic feiss*, LL. 144 b 52.

that it had reached some one. And he heard a great wailing in the fairy-knoll, saying :—

“Venom is this spear,
And venomous he whose it is,
Venomous whoever threw it,
Venom for him whom it laid low.”

26. Outside the fairy-knoll of Cruachan Brig Ele Finn seized a woman in pledge for his spear. The woman promised to send out the spear if he released her. Finn let the woman from him into the knoll. Then, as she went into the knoll the woman said :—

“Venom the spear,
And venom the hand that threw it!
If it is not cast out of the knoll,
A murrain will seize the land.”

Thereupon the spear is thrown out, and Finn takes it with him to where Fiacail was. “Well,” said Fiacail, “keep the spear with which thou hast done the famous deed.” Then Fiacail said the occasion was fortunate, since the man had been slain who had killed Finn’s comrade. “He whom thou hast slain here,” said he, “’tis he who used to kill every man that came to woo the maiden, because it is he who loved the maiden.”

27. Thereupon Finn and Fiacail went onward. Now, Fiacail had a tryst with the *fan* at Inver Colptha.¹ Then he said to Finn that they should go home . . .² since their business was finished. Said Finn: “Let me go with thee,” says he. “I do not wish thee to go with me,” says Fiacail, “lest thy strength should fail thee.” “I shall find out,” says Finn. Then they went forth. Twelve balls of lead were round the neck of Fiacail to hem his vigour, such was his swiftness. He would throw one ball after another from him, and Finn took them with him, and (yet) Fiacail’s running was no swifter than Finn’s.

28. They reach Inver Colptha. Then Finn brought all the twelve balls of lead to him, and he was pleased. That night they slept there. Then they make Finn keep watch that night, and he was told to wake the warrior if he heard any [cry of] outrage. Now, one hour of the night, as Finn was watching, he heard a cry from the north, and did not wake the warrior.

¹ The estuary of the Boyne.

² I cannot translate *gid daimh*.

He went alone in the direction of the cry to Slieve Slanga.¹ While Finn was there, among the men of Ulster, at the hour of midnight,² he overtook three women before him, at a green mound, with horns (?) of fairy-women. As they were wailing on that mound, they would all put their hands on the mound. Then the women flee into the fairy-mound before Finn. Finn caught one of the women as she was going into the fairy-knoll of Slanga, and snatched her brooch out of her cloak. The woman went after him, and besought Finn to give her back the brooch of her cloak, and said it was not fit for her to go into the fairy-knoll with a blemish, and she promises a reward³

KUNO MEYER.

¹ Now Slieve Donard, County Down.

² This I take to be the meaning of *tráth nóna do aidchi*.

³ As we learn from Gilla in Chomded's poem (LL. 145 b 8), the fairy presented Finn with a vessel full of gold and silver, which he divided among the *fan*.

AN OLD-IRISH METRICAL RULE

THE following Old-Irish poem is edited from four manuscripts, which fall into two families, A and B.

Recension A is represented by two MSS. :—

A¹ = 5100-4, Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels,¹ pp. 31-33
(written by Michael O'Clery about 1630).

A² = 23 N. 10, R.I.A.,² p. 88.

Recension B is represented by two MSS. :—

B¹ = 23 P. 3, R.I.A., fol. 13^b-13^d. A parchment manuscript, written in 1467.³

B² = H. I. 11, T.C.D., p. 157^a^b. Eighteenth century.⁴

Of the two families A represents the superior tradition. In addition to merely scribal errors, B exhibits deliberate alterations of the text, e.g. v. 1 *hi cén*, where, apparently, *céne* was first corrupted to *cén*, as in A¹, and this was altered to *hi cén* in B, to fill up the metre, v. 6 *dualchi*, v. 11 *marbait, nosinnarbann*, v. 16 *gurimgaba*, v. 18 *crena*, v. 19 *foillsich (foillsi)*, etc., v. 22 *nodusgabadh*. In the A family the true reading is sometimes retained by A¹, sometimes by A²; it is unfortunate that A² stops before the end. In the B family B² is not descended from B¹, as appears from e.g. v. 2 *meisc* B¹: *meiscnide* B², v. 4 *terc tuara* B¹: *techtuaru* B², v. 5 *nágar* B¹: *isanasgair* B², v. 25 *teighsi* B¹: *desiu* B².

Each of the two families has some additional verses. Some of these are manifest interpolations; and, if we consider the

¹ For a description of the codex, see Stokes, *The Martyrology of Gorman*, Preface. For a transcript of this copy I am indebted to Dr. Stokes.

² Cf. Meyer, *Ériu* I. 38. This copy ends abruptly at the end of the page, at the end of v. 20. The paper is much disintegrated, and some letters have, in consequence, been lost.

³ Meyer, *CZ.* IV. 241.

⁴ For a transcript of this copy I am indebted to Mr. R. I. Best. In answer to a query as to the date of the MS., Mr. E. Gwynn informs me that on fo. 63 verso there is an entry: *Aodha Dal- mile 7 seacht cced 2 bt. x. 7 da xxxx et anuidh la Lugnasa*. Interpreted strictly that should mean that it was written by O'Daly in 1792. But as H. I. 10 was written by O'Daly in 1747, and the two books are bound in similar green covers, Mr. Gwynn suggests that *da xxxx* is really meant for *da fichid*, which would make the date 1752.

character of the others, as compared with the rest of the poem, it is probable that none of them formed part of the original. In such a loosely-constructed poem interpolation is easy; and it may be that some verses common to both families have also been interpolated; for v. 13 this is highly probable.

In three of the MSS. the poem is anonymous; in A¹ it bears the superscription: *Riagail Comhgail Bendchair indso*, i.e. the Rule of Comgall, founder and first abbot of Bangor (born in 517, died in 602¹). From linguistic considerations, and in particular from the treatment of final vowels, the poem can hardly be put later than about 800 A.D.²

The metre of the poem is 7 + 7². In the first half of the line a disyllabic ending is most common; but a trisyllabic ending is not infrequent, and sometimes a monosyllable appears. Sometimes the last word of the first half of second line rhymes with a word in the second half, but this is not carried so far as in the *Riagail Cormaic*.

Owing to the loose connexion of its parts and our imperfect knowledge of the oldest Irish, the sense of the poem is sometimes obscure. Help has been got both for the text and for the interpretation from the *Apgitir Crábaid*, published by Dr. Meyer, *CZ.* iii. 447-455. Further discoveries of similar texts³ and a better knowledge of the early Irish Church will probably cast light on much that is at present obscure.

I Comae⁴ riaguil⁵ in Choimded⁶; is and⁷ ní fogbai⁸ báegul⁹:
is ferr ní dichis¹⁰ tairis, céne¹¹ mares¹² do sáegul.¹³

I Preserve the Rule of the Lord; therein thou runnest no risk. It is better that thou transgress it not, as long as thy life lasts.

¹ Ussher, quoted by Reeves, *Adamnan* 337, mentions a Rule of Comgall in Irish.

² Little stress can be laid on *inda* A² in v. 10.

³ I have before me unpublished texts of a similar character, the *Ainmchairdes Manchain Léith* from 23 N. 10, p. 89, the *Riagail Ailbe* from the Brussels codex 5100-4, pp. 24 sq. and 23 N. 11, R.I.A., pp. 186 sq., the *Riagail Cormaic maic Cuilennain* from 23 N. 10 and other MSS., and the *Regula* described in my *Deponent Verb*, p. 73.

⁴ Coma A²B, Comha A¹ ⁵ riaguil A², riaghail *cett.* ⁶ coimded A, choimbdedh B¹, coimdi B² ⁷ ann A²B² ⁸ foigbe A¹, faigbe A², íagba B¹, íagbad B²

⁹ bægal A¹B², baog^o A², bæghal B¹ ¹⁰ dicis A², dhechais B¹, dechais B²

¹¹ :eine A², cein A¹, hi céin B ¹² mairis A, maris B (*altered to mares* B²)

¹³ sæghal A¹, saog^o A², sáegal B¹, tsæghal B²

- 2 Is ed as¹ dech na riaglae² : car³ Críst, miscnigthe⁴
móini⁵ ;
lére⁶ duit⁷ fri rí⁸ ngréne⁹ ocus réde¹⁰ fri dóini.¹¹
- 3 Foss¹² oc etlai¹³—amrae¹⁴ sét¹⁵— fége,¹⁶ fedle¹⁷ oc suidiu,¹⁸
foimtiu¹⁹ écca cech laithe,²⁰ dúthracht²¹ maith do²² cech²³
duiniu.²⁴

[A¹ adds :

- 3^a Cet slectain do fri biat matin fescar ma tari,
i flaith nime niba trúag ind luagh rotbia aire.
- 3^b Cech oen matin isind re slectadh fo trí solam síis :
tara bruinde tara gnuis tabradh airdhe cruiche Críst.]

2 This is the essence [lit. what is best] of the Rule: love Christ, hate wealth; piety to thee towards the King of the sun and smoothness towards men.

3 Continuance in penitence—wonderful the road—keenness, persistence therein; heed of death everyday; good will to every man.

[3^a A hundred prostrations to Him at the *Beati* morning and evening, if it be accomplished, the reward which he will have therefor in the Kingdom of Heaven will not be paltry.

3^b Every morning at the time let him bow down promptly thrice. Over his breast, over his face, let him put the sign of Christ's cross.]

¹ as A¹, is *cett.* ² riagla A, riaghla B¹, riagl^o B² ³ cara B ⁴ miscnigthe A¹, miscnegad A², meisc B¹, meisinide B² ⁵ moine (*in marg.* maoine) A¹, maine *cett.* ⁶ lere A¹, leri A², leiri B¹, leire B² ⁷ om. A ⁸ righ A, rig B¹, ri B² ⁹ greni B², na nela A¹, na nellu A² ¹⁰ rede A¹, reide A²B¹, reigbe B² ¹¹ fri daine A², B², fri dæine B¹, na ndæine A¹ ¹² fos B¹, fas B² ¹³ etla *codd.* (eatla B²) ¹⁴ amra *codd.* ¹⁵ set A, in set B ¹⁶ rede A¹, reide A², reighi B¹, regi B² ¹⁷ fedli A¹, fedhle A², feighli B¹, feidhle B² ¹⁸ suidiu A¹, suidhiu B², suide A², suidea B¹ ¹⁹ foimtiu A¹, fomde A², foimdiu B¹, foimhdiu B² ²⁰ cach lathi B¹, gach laithi B² ²¹ du:cht A² ²² da A²B¹ ²³ cach B¹, gach A²B² ²⁴ duine A, dhuine B¹, daine B²

- 4 Ní fúapre¹ crábud² nolur³: tomil⁴ téchtæ do thúarae⁵:
in crábud⁶ gairit remor⁷ is demon⁸ conidrúalæ.⁹
- 5 Ní déne¹⁰ tenid¹¹ ratha,¹² is and is gair¹³ a bádud¹⁴:
nírba¹⁵ churches¹⁶ fri¹⁷ sruthair, arim¹⁸ suthain¹⁹ do chrábud.²⁰
- 6 Manotgabát in chathæ²¹ is ferr deit²² ní ba²³ slemon,²⁴
cath fri analchi²⁵ ili,²⁶ cath fri corp, cath fri demon.²⁷
- 7 It é do²⁸ theoir²⁹ riágla: —nítroib³⁰ anail³¹ bas³² diliu³³—
ainmne ocus umaldóit³⁴ serc in C[h]oimded it chridiu^{35, 36}

4 Aim not at a devotion. Eat thy due portion of food. The short gross devotion, it is the Devil who has devised (?) it.

5 Make not a fire of fern; then its extinction is nigh. Be not a sedge against a stream, that thy devotion may be lasting.

6 If the battles overtake thee, it is better for thee that thou shouldst not be slack: a battle against many vices, a battle against the body, a battle against the Devil.

7 These are thy three rules—have thou naught else dearer—patience, humility, and the love of the Lord in thy heart.

¹ fuabre A¹, fuabra A²B¹, fuab B² ² crabadh A¹, crab^v A², crabad B¹, cradb^v B² ³ nolar (?) A¹, nolur A², nolar B. ⁴ tom^v A², tomhail A¹, tomail B² ⁵ tecta do thúara A¹, *techtu* do tuaro A², terc tuara B¹, techtuaru B² ⁶ crabadh A¹, crab^v A²B¹, crab^v B² ⁷ remhair A¹, remar B¹, ramhur B² ⁸ deman A¹B¹, demhuin B² ⁹ conidruala A¹, *conitru*alau A², cotaruala B ¹⁰ dene A¹, dena *cett*. ¹¹ thenid B¹, tene A, teni B² ¹² rathu A² ¹³ is an is gair A¹, is an is gar A², isanasg air B², 7 nāgar B¹ ¹⁴ baduth A², badad B¹, badhadh A¹B² ¹⁵ níba B² ¹⁶ curcas A¹, *curcus* A², cuirches B¹, cuirces B² ¹⁷ i A ¹⁸ arim A¹, aram A², nirop B ¹⁹ duthain B ²⁰ crabadh A¹, *craúadh* A², *crábudh* B¹, *cradh^v* B² ²¹ Manotgaba na cata A¹, Managaba na cautho A², Munatgabha na catha B¹, Munat g gabha na catha B² ²² det B², duit A ²³ níba A¹, nipa B¹, na ba B², nirbat A² ²⁴ slemon A¹, *sleamun* B¹, *slemuin* A², *slemhain* B² ²⁵ hanalchi A², hanalcha A¹, dualci B¹, duailche B² ²⁶ ili A, aili B¹, aile B² ²⁷ demon A¹, dem^v A², demhun B¹, demuín B² ²⁸ om. B ²⁹ teora *codd.* ³⁰ nitraib B¹, nitraibh A¹B², nidroibe A² ³¹ annail A¹ ³² bus *codd.* ³³ diliu B, dili A¹, dile A² ³⁴ umaloit A¹, B, *umoloid* A² ³⁵ cride A² ³⁶ serc—chridiu: *serc* dé o uili *crídhí* B¹, *serc* de o uil^v *craidhiu* B²

- 8 Is tré¹ ómun² bfid³ serc⁴ in rí⁵ íccas cach ningrae⁶ :
is dia seirc⁷ conairliter a thol⁸ ocus a thimnae.⁹
- 9 Serc Dé arcorpai talmain,¹⁰ conrig¹¹ coiclea¹² co ndéni¹³ :
ómun¹⁴ conicc aithrigi,¹⁵ serc conmidethar¹⁶ léri.¹⁷
- 10 Ba i nómun ba i nincri¹⁸ gudem¹⁹ Críst ara nénam²⁰
indas²¹ inna aithrige²² conmiastar²³ ar nérlam.²⁴
- 11 Na hocht nairig²⁵ dualchae²⁶ oircte²⁷ anmain²⁸ cech duini,²⁹
is eól damsa sualachae³⁰ ardadíbdatsom huili.³¹

8 Through fear is the love of the King who healeth every m'sery. It is from love of Him that His will and His commandment are cared for.

9 Love of God the earth, fetters thoughts speedily. Fear hath power over repentance. Love determines piety.

10 Whether in fear or in hurt let us pray to Christ that we may escape (?). The manner of the penance our patron shall determine.

11 The eight chiefs of the vices which slay the soul of every man, I know virtues which extinguish them all.

¹ tria A¹, trie A², tré B¹, trea B² ² oman A, omhun B², uamun B¹
³ bid A¹, bis A²B², bhís B¹ ⁴ a serc B¹, a seirc B² ⁵ righ A¹, rí B ⁶ iccus
cach ningai A¹, icus gach ningra A², conicc cach dingnad B¹, cíc cach dingna B²
⁷ de thuil A¹, dia toil A², dia thoil B¹, dia thol B² ⁸ thol B, serc A¹, hserc A²
⁹ timna A, B¹, timhnadh B² ¹⁰ Serc dia corpaib a talam A¹, Searc dear corpai
italmain A², Serc diar corpaibh italmair B¹, Serc diarrcorpuib italomhun B²
¹¹ cunric B¹, conric B² ¹² coicliu B¹, cocliu B², coicne A ¹³ dene (deine B¹)
codd. ¹⁴ omun B¹, omhun B², oman A ¹⁵ aithrige A, aithrige B¹, faithr B²
¹⁶ conmidithir A¹, conmidir A², conmidit B¹, conmidit B² ¹⁷ lere A¹, leire A²B
¹⁸ Ba inoman ba ininride A¹, Bad inoman ba ininride A², Ba inomun ba ininride B¹,
Bainn omhain baincridhi B² ¹⁹ guidium A², guidim B ²⁰ aranernam A,
guraternam B¹, gurothéarnam B² ²¹ innas A¹, indus A², inmus B² ²² inna
aithrigi A¹, inda aidrige A², ina haithrighi B¹, inaithrighi B² ²³ conmiastar A¹,
conmestar A², conmiadustar B¹, conmiastur B² ²⁴ arnerlamh B, aranerlam A¹,
inderlamh A² ²⁵ nairicch A¹, nairic A², nairigh B¹, nairig B² ²⁶ dualach A¹, B²,
doalach A², dúalaich B¹ ²⁷ oirce A², marbhuit B¹, marbhait B² ²⁸ anmuin
A²B¹ ²⁹ cech duine A, cach duine B¹, gachn duine B² ³⁰ intsualai^g A¹,
intsoalui^g A², dū sual^r B¹, sūsualai^g B² ³¹ ar de díbdada huile A¹, ardotdíbdathæ
uile A², nosinnarbann sin uili (uile B²) B

- 12 Is sí so¹ int súalaig² fodera³ dídnad⁴ fotae,⁵
cech⁶ naccobur⁷ adcobrae⁸ ainmne⁹ do dénum¹⁰ occae.¹¹

[B adds :

- 12^a B¹ M'anmum budein asbertsa frim corpán casmar cetlach
dus inngluaister for bith cé iar mbeth fri ré ag
ecnach

B² M'anmaim uodhein atbertsa frim corp^a cæsm^a cetlach
dus ingluaister for bith ce iar mbeth fri re agegach.]

- 13 Na trí cóicait¹² do gabáil ó theirt¹³ co teirt,¹⁴ mad folaid,¹⁵
is do thímnaib¹⁶ na sruithe¹⁷ bied¹⁸ laithe¹⁹ bes cobair.²⁰

[After this there are additions in both families :

- 13^a A. Trí chét²¹ slechtain²² cach²³ laithi²⁴ agus a trí cech
trátho²⁵
ni b[i]a th'anim²⁶ fri²⁷ fugall ind rí²⁸ hi laithiu²⁹ brátho.³⁰

12 This is the virtue which works long consolation, that in every desire which thou desirest thou shouldst exercise patience.

12^a [My own soul said to my . . . body (?) if it might be moved upon this earth after being for a time in blasphemy.]

13 To sing the three fifties from tierce to tierce, if it be possible, by the ordinances of the ancients, there will be a day that it will be a help.

[13^a Three hundred prostrations every day, and three at every canonical hour, thy soul will not be at the judgment of the King on the Day of Doom.

¹ ishiso A¹, isiso A², isísin B ² antsúalaigh A¹, antsoalig A², insual¹ B¹,
in súalaigh B² ³ fofera A ⁴ bethaid B ⁵ fota A¹, foda A²B²,
fota B¹ ⁶ cach B ⁷ accobar A¹, acobar A², cabuir B¹, acabar B²
⁸ accobrai A¹, acopræ A², atá cobra B¹, ata at cobra B² ⁹ ainmne B¹
¹⁰ denum B¹, dhenam B², denamh A¹, denam A² ¹¹ occai A¹, oca A²B²,
ocoa B¹ ¹² l A², B¹, cæccait A¹, cægait B² ¹³ tirt A², t't A¹B¹
¹⁴ t't A, B¹ ¹⁵ folaidh A², foghl B¹, fol B² ¹⁶ tímnaib A²B¹, tímnaibh A¹
¹⁷ sruiti A¹, sruthi A², maithi B ¹⁸ biaid A, ticfa B ¹⁹ laithi B ²⁰ bus
cobhair B¹, bus cobair B², bidatcobhair A¹, bidatcob' A² ²¹ ced A¹, c. A²
²² slechtain A¹, slechtain A² ²³ gach A² ²⁴ laithe A¹ ²⁵ trata A¹ ²⁶ hanim
A¹, hainem (?) A² ²⁷ fría A¹ ²⁸ rig A², righ A¹ ²⁹ hi laithe A², illaite A¹
³⁰ bratho A², bratha A¹

16 Is ferr duit¹ immingabae² lín³ as⁴ dóig lat dot marbad,
borb cráibthech⁵ co nanecnu,⁶ ecnaid⁷ anettoil⁸ anbal.

[B adds :

16^a Dogné sáiri na sruithe⁹; ní pa¹⁰ borb amal seccu¹¹ :
remi¹² iarmb¹³ i cach dú¹⁴ do réir Ísu bid certu.¹⁵

16^b Dogné túaslucud cachtæ¹⁶ ar muintir Dé—ní mebul¹⁷—
arná dernæ¹⁸ tré báegul¹⁹ m'óenur t'óenur²⁰ ar Demun.²¹]

17 Ce²² dotísat²³ mórgressa,²⁴ remib²⁵ ní feræ²⁶ cóini²⁷ :
fobíth nídat eslabru²⁸ oldás²⁹ in Rí dosfóidi.³⁰

16 It is better for thee to avoid those whom thou mayest
expect to slay thee, a fool pious but ignorant, a sage impenitent
and

[16^a Practise the liberty (?) of the elders. Be not foolish
like Before afterwards (?) in every place [to be] in obedience
to Jesus will be better (?).

16^b Practise deliverance from captivity for God's folk—'tis
no shame—that thou mayest not unawares play 'I alone, you
alone,' before the Devil.]

17 Though great injuries come to thee, lament not thereat ;
because they are not more abundant than those of the King who
sends them.

¹ deit A¹ ² animgaba A¹, imimgabho A², *gurimgaba* B¹, *gurimgabha* B²
³ lín A, dís B ⁴ as A¹, is A², bus B ⁵ craidbech A¹, craidbech A²,
craibthech B ⁶ nanecna A¹, nainegna A², nainecn⁷ B ⁷ eccn^v A¹, egn^v A²,
ecn^v B¹, eacnaidh B² ⁸ anetoil A², anetal A¹, anetla B¹, anetlai B² ⁹ saire na
sruithi *codd.* ¹⁰ niba B² ¹¹ secca B¹, seca B² ¹² roime B¹, reme B² ¹³ *leg.* iarmi ?
¹⁴ *ingach* du B¹, *ingacha* du B² ¹⁵ bidh certa B¹, is ceartu B² ¹⁶ tuasluc
cachtæ *codd.* ¹⁷ mebhul *codd.* ¹⁸ arna derna B¹, aranderna B² ¹⁹ báeghal *codd.*
²⁰ *mænur*, *tænur* B¹, *mænar thænair* B² ²¹ dheamhun B² ²² Ce A¹, cia (cía B¹) *cett.*
²³ dotisadh A¹, dotísat A², dothísat B², darat B² ²⁴ moirgreso A², morgresa *cett.*
²⁵ remoibh A², rompu B¹, rompo B² ²⁶ fera (*fera* B¹) *codd.* ²⁷ choine A¹,
(*in marg.* caoine .i. eccoin), coine A², caine B ²⁸ easlabra A¹, eslabra A² :
fobith (bhith B²) is lugha taisci (ataisce B²) B ²⁹ oldas A, inas B ³⁰ dús fóide
(*in marg.* faoide) A¹, *dustæide* A², dofúidhe B¹, dosfuidhe B²

- 18 Cit ili latsu ind óigid,¹ ma dognee a coir,²
fogeiss³ in ríg lasambí,⁴ ní criae ní doib.⁵
- 19 Ní téis⁶ féin do athchuingi⁷; ní tíasar⁸ úait do foigdi⁹:
bí i fuss¹⁰ oc irnigthi¹¹; do gréss folóis do doidbri.¹²
- 20 Nírba¹³ chalad¹⁴ cesachtach; ní rba¹⁵ bodur¹⁶ frit¹⁷ guidi¹⁸;
ní opae,¹⁹ ní athchuintis²⁰; ní carae²¹ móini²² duini.²³
- 21 Ní riae, ní écriae trócairi nDé, nÍscelae,²⁴
annoberae fort lourtain²⁵ donaib²⁶ bochtaib doberae.²⁷

18 Though thou deem the guests many, if thou renderest [them] their service due, beg of the king with whom thou art, buy not aught for them.

19 Go not thyself to solicit; let no one go from thee to beg. Remain at home in prayer; ever endure thy poverty.

20 Be not hard and niggardly. Be not deaf to prayer to thee. Refuse not, solicit not. Love not a man's wealth.

21 Thou shalt not sell, thou shalt not buy God's mercy, thou shalt not hide it. What thou carriest off over and above thy sufficiency, thou shalt give to the poor.

¹ Ciat ili latsa ind oighid A¹, cidat ile latsa anaoidig A², ciabat (ciabath B²) imdha na haighidh B ² ma dognee a choir A¹, ma dogne a coir A², isadh andenta a cóir B¹, madandenta a coir B² ³ fogeis A, faigdis B¹, faightis B²
⁴ lasambia A¹, lasambiaa A², icambiad B¹, acambiadh B² ⁵ ní rochria ní doibh A¹, ní criaa ní doiu A², 7 ní (ní B¹) crena biadh dóib (doibh B²) B
⁶ téis B¹, theis A¹, teis *cett.* ⁷ atchuinge A¹, atcuindge A², athchuingi B
⁸ tíasar A, tiastar B ⁹ foigde A¹, faigde A², faighdhi B ¹⁰ bí i fuss A¹, bi i foss A², bid fos B¹, biafos B² ¹¹ oc ern'ghte A¹, ic urnaighthi A², oc irn'ghi B¹, oc urn'ghi B² ¹² do gres follais do doidbre A¹, do gres foluis do daidbre A², foillsich (faillsi B²) do dhia do dhaibre B ¹³ Nirbat A, Nirp⁶ B¹, Nirbath B² ¹⁴ calad A¹B¹, cal[~] A², calath B² ¹⁵ ní rbat A¹, nírbud A², nírbp⁶ B¹, nírbath B² ¹⁶ bodhar A¹, bouth[~] A², bogur B¹, boghar B²
¹⁷ fria A¹, friad A² ¹⁸ guide A, guidhe B ¹⁹ obais A¹, obuis A², opa B
²⁰ atchuindcis A¹, athcuindgis A², athchuingi B¹, athcuing B² ²¹ cara *codd.*
²² moine A¹, maine A²B¹, muiti B² ²³ duine *codd.* ²⁴ Ní rochria ní ria trocaire de niscela A¹, Ní cria ní ecria (écria B²) trócaire dé nisdela B ²⁵ ambesa for tholarthain A¹, arambra dolorthain B ²⁶ dona *codd.* ²⁷ doberae A¹, dobera (dobhera B¹) *cett.*

- 22 Nírba¹ chreccach cundarthach²; do Chríst ba³ mór do
 gaire :
 ní foigis⁴ rí⁵ g i nÉre, diamba⁶ chéle⁶ Maic⁷ Maire.⁸
- 23 Aithrige⁹ co neltessaib¹⁰ iar mbuith¹¹ i peccad romar,¹²
 is¹³ becc a fochricc¹⁴ for nim,¹⁵ i tein bid¹⁶ mór a promad.¹⁷
- 24 Conar¹⁸ inna¹⁹ aithrige²⁰ diambeth²¹ nech nodagabad,²²
 dréisi²³ céim cech²⁴ óin laithi,²⁵ ní dernae²⁶ bésu²⁷ arad.²⁸
- 25 Dia scarae²⁹ frisin ndomun,³⁰ rogabais conair céstae :³¹
 tessi³² uad, ní dercither,³³ amal tofunn dotéstae.³⁴

22 Be not given to buying and trafficking. Let thy piety to Christ be great. Beg not of a king in Ireland, if thou be a vassal of Mary's Son.

23 Repentance with sluggishness (?) after being in great sin, small is its reward in heaven, its trial in fire will be great.

24 If there should be anyone who should take the path of repentance, advance a step every day, practise not the ways of a charioteer.

25 If thou shouldst part from the world, thou hast taken the path of sufferings. Flee from it, look not, as [though it were] a pursuit wherewith thou wert pursued.

¹ Nirbat A¹, B², Nirp^t B¹ ² creccach cundarthach A¹, c^rethach cunn^ustach B¹, crechach cunnairthach B² ³ pa B¹, bat B² ⁴ foigdis A¹, fáighde B¹, fáigh dhe B²
⁵ diambat A¹, diampa B¹ ⁶ cele A¹, ceile B ⁷ mc *codd.* ⁸ mare A¹, B¹, muire B² ⁹ Aitrige A¹, In aitrighi B¹, In aithrighi B² ¹⁰ conel tessaib A¹, ceiltas B² ¹¹ mbeit A¹, mbeth B² ¹² i peccadh romar A¹, fri pecc^u ciana B²
¹³ as A¹ ¹⁴ focraic A¹, fochraic B² ¹⁵ nimh A¹, nem B² ¹⁶ a tein bidh A¹, i teine is B¹, itenis B² ¹⁷ promáil A¹, phiana B¹, pianadh B² ¹⁸ Conara A¹, B², Conaire B¹ ¹⁹ ina A¹, na B² ²⁰ haithrige A¹, haithrige B¹, haithrie B²
²¹ mabeith A¹, diambe B¹, dambe B² ²² nodagabhadh A¹, nodusgabhadh B¹, nodusgab^u B² ²³ treisi A¹, dringidh B¹, dring B² ²⁴ gach B¹, cach B²
²⁵ ænlaithe A¹, ænlaiti B² ²⁶ ni derna A¹, na denadh B² ²⁷ bera A¹, besa B²
²⁸ aradh A¹B¹, airadh B² ²⁹ scarra *codd.* ³⁰ frisan dom^u A¹, frisin domun B¹, frisin doman B² ³¹ conair cesta A¹, gabul c^uta B¹, gabhal cert B² ³² rethe A¹; teighsi B¹, desiu B² ³³ ni dercaighther A¹, inimceine B¹, inimchini (?) B²
³⁴ am^u topann dotesta A¹, am^u bid (bidh B²) tofunn (tafunn B²) testa (teasta B²) B

26 Ce beith mac deit¹ nó threbad² frisarérchóilis³ scarad,⁴
 nísniarfois,⁵ nisnimrade,⁶ amail nobetha i talam.⁷

27 Ma dognesu⁸ aithrighi⁹, massu¹⁰ chendais¹¹ do chride,¹²
 is dírech in chonarsa¹³ dochum Rí^g flatha nime.¹⁴

[A¹ adds :

27^a Ced mbemenda *fort* lama in gach corgas bid^h cobhair
 da cach uabar dogensat riam *cen tesbaid for*aibh.]

28 Mad accor¹⁵ latsu¹⁶ t'aním¹⁷ corrop¹⁸ gilithir géisi,¹⁹
 ní rochosna nech aile²⁰ ní dot anim tartési.²¹

26 If thou shouldst have a son or householdry that thou hast determined to part from, thou shalt not seek them, thou shalt not think of them, as though thou wert in the earth.

27 If thou practise repentance, if thy heart is meek, this way is straight to the King of the Kingdom of Heaven.

[27^a A hundred blows on thy hands, in every Lent it will be a help. For every pride that they [the hands] have practised, miss not a single time [lit. without want upon them] (?)].

28 If it be thy desire that thy soul be as white as the swan, no other can strive after aught for thy soul in thy stead.

¹ lat B ² trebad A¹, treb^h B ³ frisarercalais A¹, frisarercuilis B¹, frisirercuilis B² ⁴ scaradh A¹, sgaradh B¹, sgaraidh B² ⁵ nís resnes A¹, nisaitris B¹, nisatris B² ⁶ nís nimradhe A¹, nisnimraidhi B¹, ni *im* ninsaidhe B² ⁷ amail nobeite ittalamh A¹, am^h tistais a talamh (tal^h B¹) B ⁸ dognesi A¹, dognési B¹, dognese B² ⁹ aithrige A¹, B¹, aithrighi B² ¹⁰ masa *codd.* ¹¹ cendais A¹, phurghlan B¹, firglan B² ¹² cridhi B¹, craidhi B² ¹³ an *conarsa* A¹, in *conuirsi* B¹, in *conaire si* B² ¹⁴ do cum righ flata nimhe A¹, do *ascnam* (*ascnamh* B²) dochum (*docum* B¹) nime B ¹⁵ Mad *acur* B¹, Mada cur B² ¹⁶ latsa *codd.* ¹⁷ thanam B¹, hainim B² ¹⁸ gurbat A¹, gurop B¹, gurab B² ¹⁹ gese A¹, geisi B ²⁰ ni *cosain nech* aili B¹, ni *cosáin neach* aile B² ²¹ ni do tana tarhese A¹, dothan^h tarteisiu B¹, ni dotoibh *tair* heisi B²

[A¹ adds :

- 28^a Masa tusa ædhaire do mhanchaibh, is techta
ar do cese,¹ noscara, nosgabha gabail gerta.
- 28^b Mad manc[h]aine nodgaba, damal do *promad menic*,
conoither teora bríathra comid ructhar it relicc.
- 28^c Ite do téora briathra —sech ni gairde ni siaa—
arco fuin imondaire asbera cech diaa.]
- 29 Riagul² in Choimded³ inso.⁴ is licet cia nospromae.⁵
ni tuccai nach anfoirbthe⁶ buith⁷ fo riaguil⁸ mo chomae.⁹
Comae riaguil.¹⁰

[28^a If thou art a shepherd to church-tenants, it is fitting that thou compassionate them and love them

28^b If tenant service come to thee, if thy frequent trial be pleasant (?), preserve thou three words till thou art carried to thy graveyard.

28^c These are thy three words—it is neither shorter nor longer—*Arco fuin imandairi* thou shalt say every day.]

29 This is the Rule of the Lord. Thou mayest prove it. No imperfect one understands how to be under the rule of my

¹ *leg. ardacesse* ² Riagail A¹, Riag' B¹, Riagal B² ³ choimde A¹,
coimded B¹, choimdhi B² ⁴ indso A¹, anso' B¹ ⁵ licet dun cia
nosproma A¹, is licet cia nosfromha B ⁶ ni ruccai nachan foirbthe A¹,
ní tan n ná foirfi B¹, ni t'íin ná anfoir B² ⁷ bith A¹, beth B ⁸ riagail A¹,
riaghail B¹, riag' B² ⁹ mo comha A¹, mo choma B¹, in coma B² ¹⁰ Comha
riaguil A¹, Coma riag' in. ch. F B¹, Coma B²

NOTES.

v. 1. *fabai*. In Mid. Ir. a fut. *foigbe* would be possible, but not in O. Ir. Cf. CZ. iii. 483 sq.

vv. 2, 3. Cf. *leiri fri Dia, redi fri duine, coenduthracht da gach ænduine, foimdiu ecco cech ænlaihi* CZ. iii. 452.

v. 3. *foss oc etlai*. Cf. *foss oc etlai* CZ. iii. 449, l. 10. For the connotation of *éttoil* and the derivative noun *etlae* see CZ. iii. 448, and cf. Féil. Oeng., Index, SR., 2086, 6876, 7199, 5370, 7898.

tégo. *réde* gives no satisfactory sense.

vv. 3^a, 3^b. These two verses are found only in one MS.; they are obviously an interpolation. The second verse, with some variation, is found in the *Ainmchairdes Manchain Léith*, 23 N. 10, R.I.A., p. 89:

*Maiden iarmerige do gres slechtaid fo thri síos :
tara bruinde tara gnuis tabrad airðhe croiche Crist.*

Here the first line may be completed by the insertion of *solam*.

v. 3^a. *Cét slechtain*. The construction is abnormal, but there are several examples of it, e.g. below 13^a, 13^b, LL. 286^a15, and thrice in the *Riagail Ailbe*; cf. further *cét slechtain* RC. xii. 432, *da slechtain déc, trí chét slechtain* RC. xv. 489, *cét slechtain* ib. 489. Instances of the normal construction are *tricha slechtan* RC. xv. 489, *da cét slechtan, secht cét slechtan* ib. 490. *slechtain* is too frequent to be put down as a mere scribal blunder. In O. Ir. the dat. sg. is *slechtun* Ml. 115^a3, the acc. is *slechtan* Ml. 138^a2; in Mid. Ir. the noun is fem., see Atkinson, *Passions and Homilies*.

biatt. Psalm cxviii., *Beati immaculati*. Cf. *Lismore Lives*, p. 406.

tari (leg. *thairi*), 3 sg. pres. s-subj. of *to-air-ic-* in the sense of 'is accomplished, completed' (?). The usual form is *tair*, but for similar variations see *Thurneysen, KZ. xxxi. 91*.

v. 4. *olar*. The sense of this word is obscure. Apart from the gloss *sechnas beoul* .i. *olar* Egerton 1782. fo. 14^b2, which I owe to Dr. Stokes, the only other instances of *olar* known to me are in the *Glossary to MacConglinne*, and they give no help.

tomil etc. Cf. *dine mesraigthi* LBr. 260^b8, bottom.

erábud gairit remor, i.e. excessive but short-lived devotion. For this application of *remor* cf. *saothar obund no remarr is gnat[h] contide Deman* in the *Ainmchairdes Manchain Léith*. The phrase appears in another connexion in LL. 346^b10, *ni thuca in remair ngairit*, 'do not marry a woman thick and short.'

conidriúlae. Cf. *conruata* SR. 5970, and perhaps *ba maith conidriúalaid dó*, 'it was well that she ordered it (?) for him,' Hy. v. 49, if *conidriúalaid* should be an error for *conidriúalae*.

v. 5. In A¹ *rata* is glossed .i. *vair[h]nighe*, and *sruthair* .i. *sruth*. Cf. *dar grellacha 7 dar sruthra* LU. 57^a31.

v. 6. **Manotgabab in chathae.** The infixed *t* can be nothing but the pron. of the 2 person; hence the following noun must be the subject of the sentence. For the construction cf. *mad manchaine notgaba* v. 28^b, and *romgabsatsa mo gessi uili innocht* LU. 84^a11.

slemon. In A¹ this is glossed .i. *mainnectnach*. In the religious literature *slemon* is opposed to *garb* or *garg*: *sleman fri garb* CZ. iii. 448, *iss ed as olc la Demon, mad slemon fri cach ngarg*, Riagail Ailbe, *slemna fri garbu* LBr. 260^{ba} bottom.

analehi. Cf. Meyer, Contributions s. v. *analaig*, CZ. iii. 448, Windisch, Wb., Thesaurus Palæo-hibernicus ii. 244, l. 25, where the text of the MS. should have been kept.

v. 7. **teoir.** I have written *teoir* like *teuir oenaidchi fo brú*, Thes. Pal.-hib. ii. 291, l. 6, as I have no evidence that in O. Ir. *teora* was disyllabic. In the MSS. it is written *teora*, GC.³ 302, not *tebra*. In Mid.-Ir. MSS. *tebra* appears, but in many instances words originally disyllabic became monosyllabic in the later language, e. g. *coir* (but *córu*): *cóir*, *doib*: *dóib*, *friú*: *friú*, *leú*: *leú*, *triún*: *triún*.

v. 8. **ingrae.** Cf. *iarna breith sech ingra* Féil. Oeng. Ep. 119. It is a derivative from *ingir* Wb. 4^b28, 24^a27 and Féil. Oeng. Dec. 21, cf. *ingar* O'Dav., no. 1102.

dia ñeire. The text is restored from CZ. iii. 448: *ar lasna bi oman De, ni bia a serc, lasna na bia a serc, ni bia comalnad a timno*.

conairlithir. This should probably be *conairlithir*; for a verb followed by two singular subjects is regularly singular, unless the two subjects are united in the action, e. g. *immusnaicillet Ailill 7 Medb* CZ. iv. 39, *dognaít córaí iarum Munremur 7 Cúruí* LU. 71^b28. Of the compound *con-airlethar* in the sense which it seems to have here I have no other clear instance; the simple verb has a similar sense, e. g. Wb. 5^b38, 17^b22. For the passive *conairlithir* by the deponent *conairlethar* cf. the passive *-dgether*, *addigther* by the deponent *addadar*, *-dgathar*.

v. 9. **arcorpai.** The restitution is certain, cf. *serc De . . . arcorbi talmain, fonigh, conrig coicli* CZ. iii. 448, but the meaning of the verb is unknown to me.

coiolea. Cf. Meyer, Contrib. s. v. *cocell*, and *ised a trede i nimruimdethar cach duine .i. hi mbrethir, hi cocell, hi ñgnim*, Thes. Pal.-hib. ii. 253, l. 11. For the variant *coicne* cf. Meyer, Contributions, s. v.; for *coicne* of the Franciscan MS. quoted there 23 N. 10 R.I.A. (Ériu i. 138) has *coigle*.

v. 10. The connexion of the two lines of this verse is not clear. Can *-ernam* possibly be a transitive verb, in some other sense, governing the following *indas*? The second line seems to mean that the penance will be determined by the rules of the founder (*érlam*, *patronus*) of the community.

ba-ba I take to be 3 sg. subj. of the copula used in a sense similar to that of the common *imb-fa*.

conmiastar. The metre shows that *-miastar* is here trisyllabic. As Thurneysen saw, *-miastar* is an analogical formation after *-fiastar*. Now *-fiastar* comes from *fifestar*; and we must suppose that *-fiastar* was still trisyllabic when *-miastar* was formed.

v. 11. **Na hocht nairig dualchae.** Cf. *Air rosuidigthe na hocht nairig sualach cona fodlaib fri hicc 7 slanugud na nocht nairech ndualchæ co neoch gainedar uaidib* CZ. iii. 24.

is *e6l damsa sualcha6*. The plur. has been restored here because there were eight virtues opposed to the eight vices. For the concord cf. *conid 6cen suin fria slond sidi* Sg. 45^b1.

ardadfbdatom. This restoration is somewhat uncertain, as it is hard to derive from it the text of A.

v. 12^a. This verse has no connexion with the context, and is a manifest interpolation. The opening words are corrupt; I have translated as though it were *m'anim fodein asbertsi*. The meaning of *casmar* and *cetlach* is obscure.

v. 13. This verse, which contains a ceremonial prescription, is probably an interpolation, like the following verses which are found only in part of the MSS.

folaid. Cf. *is folaithe do Dia anisin* LU. 113^a8; further *foladh*, 'power, ability,' O'Br.

v. 13^a. **nf bia.** The change from copula to substantive verb is required by the syntax; *bia* is monosyllabic as in *Imram Brain*, v. 26.

v. 13^c. The same verse, with some variations, is interpolated later in A (v. 27^a). The great differences in the second line make it impossible to restore its original form. In the first line the form *b6menda* in v. 27^a shows that A is here more corrupt than B.

D6 c6t mb6imen. The transposed *n* after *c6t* is here interesting as indicating that in the nom. acc. dual the neuter followed the analogy of the singular. In the O. Ir. glosses I have found no decisive instance; but the present passage is supported *da s6 nd6c ndaglaech* LU. 67^a19, *na da gruad nglanailli* YBL. 91^a20, *na da trian naile*, 6riu, I. 214. As is well known, the neut. of *d6* is *d6 n-*, the *n* of which has, so far as I know, never been explained. The *n* seems to have spread from *n* of the nom. acc. dual neuter of the noun, which in turn came from the singular.

The reading and the sense of the second line are doubtful.

v. 14. **6cnaid cr6ibthech.** For the combination cf. *bad gaeth bad 6cnaid cr6ibthech*, *Riagail Ailbe*.

v. 15. **d6re.** The word has somewhat of a bad sense, 'obduracy,' cf. *dúiri 7 gliici i fail cobsaide*, CZ. iii. 451, 23, and *F6l. Oeng. Pr. 66*.

fod6ne. Cf. *do thorba fadeine*, CZ. iii. 28, l. 29.

v. 16. **anbal.** The precise meaning of the word is uncertain. Cf. *is faol anbal*, 23 N. 10, p. 84 = LBr. 261^a44, and Meyer, *Contributions*, s. v.

v. 16^a. The sense of *seccu* is not clear. As the verse is an interpolation, separated from its context, and perhaps corrupt, it is impossible to interpret it with any certainty.

v. 16^b. **m'6enur t'6enur** I take to mean, that you may not have to face the Devil all alone.

old6s in rf, lit. 'than the king,' i.e. 'than those of the king.' For this comparatio comperendaria cf. *Wb. 9^b17*, *ML. 112^b20*, *115^d7*, *8*, *146^a3*.

do-s-f6idi. The infix *s* is established by the agreement of three MSS. The usage is exceptional, as the verb is relative, but cf. *Wb. 9^c11*, *ML. 129^b2*, *BCr. 18^b10*.

v. 18. The reading adopted is that to which the best MSS. point (*rochria* of A¹ is syntactically impossible, see note on v. 21), but there remains a metrical difficulty. In O. Ir. *coir* (cf. Stokes' Gloss. to Féil. Oeng.) and *doib* (cf. Féil. Oeng. Prol. 17) are disyllabic. But that gives apparently two half-lines of six syllables. *dognee* of A¹ and *criaa* of A² represent attempts to get the seven syllables; but the only parallel to them that I have is v. 28^c, which seems certainly to belong to v. 28^b, and there *cech oen* might be restored. If *coir* and *doib* were to be taken as monosyllables, the result would be a common metre 7 + 5¹, but then the verse would be an interpolation. It is impossible to reach any certain conclusion. The dues of a guest are thus set forth in the Riagail Ailbe:

Tech glan dona hógedaib ocus tene mór
osaicc ocus indlud dóib la dörguá cen brón.

I have nothing to illustrate the command not to buy food for them.

v. 20. *opaë*. Cf. *co ni-m-op* Ml. 20^b6, *arna oip* Ml. 42^a2, *do gres ní op audbarta* Riagail Ailbe. As Ascoli has seen, it is the subjunctive of a compound *ud-ben-*. The A family shows a sigmatic form: cf. *ni gess, ni obbais*, CZ. iii. 454, l. 10. The form *obbais* has apparently arisen from association with *-geiss, adcuintis* in phrases like the above. Whether it was ever an actual living form, it would require more evidence to show.

athhuintis, from *ath-com-di-siag-*; cf. *ara cuintea* Ml. 51^a18.

v. 21. *Ní criae ní écriae*. The reading of A here violates the rule that in command *ro-* is not found with simple verbs (except the copula).¹ *écriae*, if the text be sound, would be for *-en-criae*. A compound *as-cria* occurs in the Laws iv. 322. That would suggest an enclitic **es-criae*; but in view of the fact that I have no example of such a form and also in view of such variations as *adcuaid*: *-écid* (fr. **en-coaid*), it is safer, provisionally, to adhere to the text of B.

nísoelae. But it may be that *nisdela* contains the true reading, though I cannot interpret it.

fort lourtain. Cf. *mad a lourtu noestais diib* Ml. 98^b9, and *fora saith*, Ml. 97^d10.

v. 22. *cundarthaach*, an adjective from *cundrad* 'merx' Sg. 68^b, Ml. 122^a3.

ba, 3 sg. pres. subj. of the copula. Further examples are *ba léir do ainme* Riagail Ailbe; *ar is glan in corp dia te, ba glan doteis da* 23 N. 10, p. 85 (= LBr. 261^b9); *nib ar adbchloss do doene, ba ar Dia cach andene* 23 N. 10, p. 88; *bá maith bídh in claidib* LU. 66^b1. The instances defend the MS. reading in *bá tualang* Wb. 6^d13, *ba samlid* 19^d29.

v. 32. With this verse cf. *Cresini deid dosni ar morsoeth, bid mor a promad hi tein, bid peic a fochraic for nimh* CZ. iii. 454.

eltensaib. Cf. *ailltes* CZ. iii. 448. The sense of 'sluggishness' is suggested by *deid* in the passage quoted above.

¹ Strachan, Subjunctive Mood, 103.

promad. In A¹ the late *promdil* has been substituted, probably under the belief that the *a* of *romar* was long. But *ròmár* became *romar*, just as *rò-galach* became *roglach*; in Féil. Oeng. Ep. 236 *romair* rhymes with *sobail*; cf. also *rognas* (from *ro-gnás*): *comdas* in the Riagail Chormaic.

v. 24. **diambeth nech nodagabad.** *nodagabad* is supported by the rhyme, and this past subjunctive calls for the past subjunctive *diambeth*.

dréisi, etc. (2 sg. pres. *s*-subj. of *dringid*) is the reading to which the MSS. decidedly point. But there is a very harsh transition from the third person in the first line of the verse to the second person in the second. And this harshness led probably to the substitution of *dringed* and *nd dénad* in B.

besu arad .i. a nglanais (leg. *nglanas*) *aniu salc[h]aidh amarach*, 'what he cleans to-day, he fouls to-morrow,' A¹.

v. 25. **conair céstae.** The text of B is unintelligible to me, but cf. *nosgabha gabail gerta* v. 28^a; *gérta* gen. sg. of *gértaí*, 'champion' (?).

do-t-éstae, 3 sg. past *s*-subj. pass. of *do-seinn* with the infix pronoun of the second person. *Amal bid tofunn* would be the usual phrase; in B *bid* has been introduced, and this has led to the corruption of *dotéstae*. Cf. *amal tene beth fot churp* LBr. 261^a68 = *mar badh teine beth fort churp* YBL 408^a5.

v. 26. **nísniarfois.** The true reading is uncertain. Palaeographically *ní fresndis*, the subjunctive of a compound *friss-ind-feth-*, cf. *freisndis* Wb. 13^a11, or *nísnernis* the subj. of *ar-neuth*, 'expect,' would be very near to *nísnernis*, but the sense is not so suitable.

amail nobetha i talam. Here the reading of A suits the sense better than that of B. Further *talam* is an O.-Ir. form of the dative, cf. Wb. 9^b19, 21^d4, Ml. 44^c1. 45^d13, 106^a3, BCr. 33^b1, while of an O.-Ir. acc. *talam* I have no example: in Féil. Oeng. Pr. 216 the form *talam* is not assured by the metre. But it is possible that both variants are a corruption of something else, e.g. *amail no-t-techtad talam*, 'as if the earth possessed thee.'

v. 27^a. See v. 13^b.

v. 28. **accor.** Cf. Thes. Pal.-hib. i. 724.

v. 28^a. **manchaibh**; like *manchuine* below, the word is used in its legal sense of tenants of church lands, for which see Glossaries to the Laws, to the Tripartite Life, and to the Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore; O'Dav., nos. 1052, 1221, and the legal fragment in Ériu i. 218 sq.

gabail gerta, see v. 25.

damal, leg. *diamb' díl*, 'if it be pleasing' or 'if it be fitting' (?).

v. 28^c. **arco fuin imondaire.** The religious formula *arco fuin* is well known: cf. Meyer, Contributions, s. v. *arcu*; *imondaire* may perhaps represent *imman-d-airi* 3 sg. subj. of *immairic*, with infix rel. *n*, and rel. *d*, on which see Pedersen, KZ. xxxv. 407; and the whole phrase may then mean something like 'I pray that it

may be for good.' I have noted two other occurrences of the word in religious poetry:—

Riagail Ailbe :

Tua ocus fethamla do crabad gurab lesach
arco fuin imonaire ar tosach iersin cern med messair.
 (v. l. *arcu fuinn imonaire iar tosach iarsin cesaith*).

Ainmchairdes Manchain Léith :

Ar atait teora briathra ata logmure for nim
umanaire cet gach tan epeit dogres arcu fuin.

There is a different formula in RC. xv. 489: *Arcu fuin um Dia, domair trocaire, creitiu in Trinoit.*

v. 29. *liost.* Cf. *lece* Ml. 69*23.

tucci. The reading *ruccai* is here unintelligible to me. *berim diriug* means 'I attain to,' but of *berim* by itself in that sense I have no example.

comae. The meaning of the word here is obscure. It might be compared with *comad*, Ériu i. 38, if the *comad* be simply a bad spelling of *coma*. In Irish poetry it is a well-known rule that a poem ends with the word with which it begins. The present poem shows that it is sufficient if the two words are the same in form, and that it is not necessary that they should be the same in sense.

J. STRACHAN.

A COLLATION OF *CRÍTH GABLACH*, AND A
TREATISE ON *CRÓ* AND *DÍBAD*

I N the twenty-fifth volume of the *Revue Celtique*, p. 344, I gave an example of the work still to be done by the Brehon Law Commissioners before they can consider their task completed. I now submit two examples of another kind of work which will have to be carried out before the student of Irish Law can be said to be properly supplied with his materials, viz. (1) a collation of the original manuscripts with the published texts, and (2) the publication of valuable legal documents not included in O'Donovan's and O'Curry's transcripts. As an instance of the former work, I have chosen the *Críth Gablach* and its Sequel (*Ancient Laws*, vol. IV. pp. 288-369), one of the oldest texts of the collection, having been originally composed in the eighth century.¹ Two copies of it have come down to us, both of which are found in the vellum codex, H. 3. 18, one beginning on p. 252, another on p. 1a. The latter is incomplete, the whole introduction as far as p. 308, l. 5, of the edition being omitted. There is a third fragment on p. 419.

As an example of a hitherto unpublished legal text, I select a treatise on the distribution of *cró* and *díbad*, i.e. the property left by a deceased person. This text, which is found in H. 3. 18 p. 25a, is of much later date than the *Críth Gablach*, belonging to the period of transition from Old to Middle Irish. From the mention of Cormac mac Cuilennáin in the introduction, it would seem to have been written after A.D. 907, the date of his death.

KUNO MEYER.

¹ Note e.g. such old forms as *ae* 320, 29, *tualing* 304, 17, *foled* (= *folad*) 304, 3, *cechtir* 338, 16, *deac* 338, 21, *nue* 304, 10, *mruige* 310, 5, the nom. pl. *grád* 298, 11, &c. As the Law of Adamnan is mentioned (p. 334), the text cannot be earlier than the beginning of the eighth century.

A COLLATION OF CRĪTH GABLACH

THE EDITION.	THE MANUSCRIPT,
(Ancient Laws of Ireland, IV., p. 298.)	H. 3, 18, p. 252.
p. 298, l. 3 nṡn.—fear	ni <i>hanse</i> —fer
l. 8 beċ Δ urlann	beith a urlun ¹
l. 11 ceṛc	ceist
l. 12 mṡba	midbotha
l. 13 Δ ṡlige—menbu ² —fṡrṡdailceṛ	a dlige ² d—menbud—fṡndailte ³
l. 14 na .uṡ. nṡṡṡṡṡ	na <i>secht</i> ngrad ³ si
l. 16 caṡṡṡṡṡ	tanise
l. 17 fṡṡṡṡṡ	fodla
l. 18 ṡΔ	da
l. 22 nenech	nenich
l. 24 Δṡṡṡṡṡ Δṡ ṡṡ caṡṡ	amail arincain
p. 300, l. 1 ṡṡṡṡṡṡṡ	imatuing
l. 4 bṡṡṡṡ Δṡṡṡṡ	biathad aonur
l. 8 Δṡṡṡṡṡṡ—fṡṡṡṡṡṡ	addligned—fortaig
l. 10 mṡṡṡṡṡṡṡ ṡṡṡṡ	mbliadne ndéac
l. 11 ṡṡ comṡṡc	ni comṡ
l. 15 eṡṡ—ṡṡṡṡṡṡṡ	aile—trebairiu
l. 19 fṡṡṡṡṡ	sarugud
l. 22 caṡṡṡṡṡ ṡṡṡṡṡṡ ṡṡ ṡṡ	tabar diabal mbid
p. 302, l. 5 ṡṡ—ṡṡṡṡ	inna—lino ³
l. 13 and 22 ṡṡṡ	déac
l. 15 caṡṡṡṡṡṡṡ	cuaiddid
l. 23 baṡṡṡṡṡ	p. 253, basaibh
l. 25 ṡṡṡṡṡṡṡ—ṡṡṡṡṡ	dlight ¹ her—maic ²
p. 304, l. 1 caṡṡṡṡ	cinnid
l. 13 ṡṡṡ	ised
l. 16 ceṡṡṡṡṡṡṡ	ceth-e
l. 17 ṡṡṡṡṡṡṡṡ	immuillinn
l. 19 fṡṡṡṡṡṡṡ	suidhiugud
l. 25 caṡṡṡṡṡṡṡ	turchrec
p. 306, ll. 10, 11 baṡṡṡṡṡṡṡ	baigen
l. 15 caṡṡṡṡṡṡṡṡ	tsarugud
l. 16 fṡṡṡṡṡṡ	forchur
l. 21 Δṡṡṡṡṡ	aidiri
l. 22 huΔṡṡṡṡ	huare
l. 23 fṡṡṡṡṡṡ	folaid
l. 25 ceṡṡṡṡṡṡṡṡ	ceth-
p. 308, l. 1 fṡṡṡṡṡṡ	sarugud
l. 6 baṡṡṡṡṡṡṡ	baitsid (p. 1 a)
l. 7 caṡṡṡṡṡṡṡ	dosaig (p. 1 a)
l. 8 caṡṡṡṡṡṡṡ	chóir (p. 1 a)
l. 11 caṡṡṡṡṡṡṡṡ	chóiciur (p. 1 a)
l. 16 baṡṡṡṡṡṡṡṡ	boaire
p. 310, l. 5 mṡṡṡṡṡṡṡṡṡṡṡ	mruigfer

¹ i inserted after / under the line² i inserted after a under the line³ lina (nó o). The o is meant to cancel the a

p. 334, l. 3	eiLe	<i>ailē</i>
l. 27	ona	<i>dano</i>
l. 31	rechaib	<i>retha[i]bā</i>
p. 336, l. 3	no fúit[er]	<i>rofúiter</i>
l. 12	ono	<i>dono</i>
l. 13	o connothuro	<i>ocon indriud</i>
l. 19	traiḡtib	<i>tʰraigtib</i>
l. 21	uoc nímcéllac	<i>dotnimmcellat</i>
p. 338, l. 3	críí	<i>crú</i>
<i>ib.</i>	ḡabail uí	<i>gabail fer soerus di</i>
l. 6	Δ roechaib	<i>ar soethaib</i>
l. 8	ite Δ nanmann	<i>ithe a nanman</i>
<i>ib.</i>	ite Δca	<i>ithe atá</i>
l. 12	ceḡtaí	<i>técti</i>
l. 24	ḡéac	<i>deac</i>
l. 25	erpuC (twice)	<i>espuC</i>
<i>ib.</i>	huairí	<i>huari</i>
l. 26	tuargguib erpuC ono	<i>tuargguib espuC dono</i>
p. 340, l. 2	fenechar	<i>fénechas</i>
l. 21	féuuib	<i>séuuib</i>

SEQUEL TO *CRÍH GABLACH*

THE EDITION.

p. 344, l. 8	noḡige	
l. 12	tuirreḡab	
l. 15	ono	
l. 23	uimseibe	
l. 24	reḡlig	
p. 346, l. 2	uo Concobar	
l. 7	Δ cuirmtige	
l. 10	Coirbre—uimeou	
l. 15	ocur Δ cairne	
l. 20	h[em]e	
p. 348, l. 18	reir	
l. 28	carceo	
p. 350, l. 5	letrian	
l. 6	reouib	
l. 15	comorbaid	
p. 352, l. 1	reirḡuio	
l. 7	mana	
l. 8	no ḡaer no	
<i>ib.</i>	caemthet—cheḡta	
l. 14	ono—mana (bis)	
l. 15	chreca—am[ail]	
l. 16	mana	
l. 21	fedhain	
l. 26	fuileo	
l. 28	co [no ona] noentar	
p. 354, l. 2	mirin	
l. 15	fri miadlecḡtaib	
l. 16	ineclainn	
		p. 15a, ndliged
		turrhugud
		dono (and so throughout)
		timbe
		sce lig
		do Concobur
		a chuirmtige
		doirbre—cimedá
		ocus cairde
		nime
		p. 15b, seire
		tártéd
		lethrian
		séuuib
		comorbaid
		seirthiud
		p. 16a, mina
		na gæs na
		caemthet—thecht
		dono—mina (bis)
		chreca—amail co[í]n
		mina
		fedhain
		fuilet
		condentar (7 ona written over con)
		insin
		fri miadlecḡtaib
		eineclainn

p. 354, l. 17	ῥαίλμσεολαίḡ	sailmchéllaigh
l. 18	ιμορρο	immurgu [and so throughout]
ib.	ῥίλεο	filid
l. 20	εῖρρυ	espoc
l. 21	ολλάμ ῥίλο	ollam filed
l. 26	ῥαί λίτρε	sai litre la flaitħ
l. 28	after ῥαίθε insert ocht scripuill for deich n-uingib for deich cumalaib	
ib.	.xxx.	fichit
l. 30	ῥῥί ῥ	fri ri
p. 356, l. 1	ῥεεπολ	descepol
l. 2	ῥαεβῥαχα	p. 16b, saerbratha
l. 4	ῥορσεοαίλ	forcetail
l. 5	meo	mít
l. 16	ιολίḡheét	indligħthech
l. 20	ῥῥicomapc	friscomarc
l. 28	ῥίλε—ῥῥιρμῥῥ	file dono—fuirmidħ
p. 358, l. 4	ῥίλε	filí
l. 16	ναίλίλλα—μοῥα	nAilella—móra
ll. 19 and 20	come immediately after ῥῥ na ηḡῥαδ (l. 17) in the MS.	
l. 27	ḡannmῥḡeé	hanmnighedħ
p. 360, l. 5	ῥ mac ῥα	p. 17a, is mac do
l. 8	ῥοῖom—ῥοῖβαῖῥ	dosam—forbairt
l. 10	ῥεḡluime	fogluime
l. 12	εḡ . . . Δῥom	tránainim
l. 13	ceῖc	ceist
ll. 14, 15	ῥῥῥῥ ῥῥῥῥῥῥ—ῥῥῥ ῥῥῥῥḡ	iar ndliged—iar ndliged
l. 17	ῥῥῥnoce	fornoce
l. 22	ῥῥῥḡḡ	nairidħḡa (sic)
l. 28	cumal	cumħol
p. 362, l. 6	ῥῥῥle	uaisle
l. 9	ῥoe	fo
l. 13	ḡῥῥῥ	hairm
l. 18	ῥó	mó
l. 25	ῥῥῥḡ[ῥḡ]	folud
p. 364, l. 6	ḡῥῥῥ ῥῥḡḡ	A sárḡħudħ
l. 9	εḡῥῥ	p. 17b, tanaisi
l. 11	ῥna	ma
l. 12	conῥaé	condat
l. 17	εḡc	cach
l. 22	banbéim cnocheim	banbéim 7 cnocheim
p. 366, l. 3	εῥ	It
l. 6	éelcoé	thelcodħ
l. 8	Δḡlaech	athlaech
l. 21	ḡῥῥῥan	Martan
l. 24	ḡῥῥῥῥ	ḡῥḡd
l. 25	cumal	cumal
p. 368, l. 3	ῥῥḡḡῥ	saighes
l. 4	.ῥῥῥ. baí	teora bai
l. 5	ῥῥ cach ῥῥῥ	do cach ḡῥḡħ fri
l. 6	ῥῥḡḡῥ	ῥῥḡḡῥ
ll. 9, 11	ele ῥno	aile dono
l. 10	.l. Δc	im chóica[i]t

THE DISTRIBUTION OF *CRÓ* AND *DÍBAD*

MS. H. 3. 18, p. 25a.

Ropu doraidh laisna huctaru na nGáidel cinnas no roinnfítis chrao 7 *díbad*. Ar is inann leo-som roinn cró 7 *díbad*. Is iarum immustarcomolsat an uctair¹ na nGöedhel 7 rohord-aigset indas noroindfítis cró 7 *díbad* a firaicned screptra 7 chuibsi.² Ro ordaighset iarum 7 immadeisidh leo a buith a mbéscna isind inis se ó tosogh co forcenn 7 adrodamnatar Pátraic 7 fir Érenn olcena a buith samla[id] 7 an uctair robātar a ndegaid Pátraic iar cretem ro ordaigset³ i commu cāich .i. Cennfoeladh⁴ mac Ailella 7 Dubh[d]artach Bēirri fodeoidh 7 Fingin mac Flainn 7 Fingen mac Conmaic 7 Cormac mac Cuilennāin.

Ceist didiu. Cislir rann⁵ fil for crū? Nī *hansa*. A .III. ranna .i. rann ó bon cétamus 7 rann ó inn 7 rand armedōn.

Rann ó bun cétamus .i. *téit* rī in cōicidh nō na mōrtúaithe i tech rī[g] Érenn, mā[d] rī⁶ cōicid⁷; mā[d] rī⁸ mōrtúaithe, *téit* i tegh rīgh in cōicid nō indara rīgh cena 7 gaibhid⁹ gīall n-ann im cinaid⁹ indī marbas a *fer*, *co* n-éirren fris a cró 7 ranntair iarum in cró. *Sechtmad* as cétamus do gīall frisi tobongar.¹⁰ Ranntair i trī iarsin. Trían as don ardrīg dondboing 7 trían do crū na deirbfine 7 trían do *flaithib* ilibh huilibh 7 *berid* rī¹¹ in cōicid nō na mōrtúaithe a cró n-uile leis *acht* cuit ind ardrīgh 7 is hūadha *beres* cāch a cuit itir fine 7 *flaith*¹² .i. a trían tic na *flaithi*, *fācabar* a trían lais-[s]im 7 *beridh* in *flaith* is nesom dō-som na dā trían n-aile 7 *fācbaid* cāch āe trían leis beos .i. cach tellugh asa *téit* beos *co* nā tūarat ní de *etir*.

Cró ó inn dano, is hēisidh[e] saighes fine ar urradhas ar ath-athgabāil (*sic*) 7 nī bī cuit ardrīgh occo acht a *flaith* na fine fadesin. Rantair iarum i trī beos .i. trían do crū 7 trían do *flaithib* ilibh, *acht* an cuit rosaigh ind ardrīgh¹³ asin crū tōisech .i. asin cró ranntar ó bon. Is ed rosaigh *flaith* ina fine, hūair todboing¹⁴ 7 fācaibh trían i tellugh cachā fathai. Téit bēos

¹ a huctair MS. ² chuidhbhsi MS. ³ ro ordaidhsé MS. ⁴ Cennfoedladh MS. ⁵ a added under the line ⁶ righ MS. ⁷ coicedh MS. ⁸ gaibhe MS. ⁹ cinaigh MS. ¹⁰ 7 trían do cru *add. deleted by puncta* ¹¹ rig MS. ¹² fāli MS. ¹³ ard drīgh MS. ¹⁴ todboing MS.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF *CRÓ* AND *DÍBAD* 215

frithrusc sūas coruice inn ardrig 7 is ann ar[s]isestar. A ndo-hūartéit de 7 in cuit rosaigh inn flai^h na fine asin (p. 25^b) crū tōisech, is *ed* rosaigh inn ardrigh asin cruid.

Crō armedōn .i. téit mōrtūaith iarna n-atugh do sochrait aiccme bīs hūadhaib hi cēin iar marbad fir dīb 7 nī damthar cert nā dliged dōibh ima fer co toibget in mōrtūath ar ēigin leo-sium co slūaga 7 innu (?) 7 atgeltar a cuit dōibh din crū tar hēisi a tobhaigh lēo.

Ocus is ē crō randtar ar līn semmann: trian do crū deirb-fine beus 7 trian donaib flai^hib amail remindērbartamar isna hīb crōaibh aile 7 trian don tslūagh nōdsaig leo-sum, acht iar n-airec as na ndaghdaíne 7 iar līn cāich 7 iar méit a cumaing ranntar ō hīsil co hūasal, acht ní bí nech dīb cin ní itir, cidh bec cuit cāich dīb de.

Ocus an trian rosaigh in derbfine, cinnus ranntair? Nī hansa. Ranntair óthá athair 7 mac co senathair for cūlo 7 frithrusc a frithisi coruici ingen-ar-mēraibh. Athair¹ 7 mac cé²amus, leth dōibh dīnaisc. Brāthair³ athar 7 mac rannait³ aithraind atherrugh co leth in edh dohurrtéit ann. A ndohurrtéit ann iaram ranntair i trī. Trian do brāthair³ 7 ranntar a mbīs ann beus i trī. A trian dondī bes nesam dō iarsan urd cēdna, acht is līn cenn ngabála tét 7 nī līn cend comorba, 7 a ndourrtéit ann fadeoidh forsna trēinibh .i. in tan rosaigh senathair for cūlo a mbec dourrtéit ann for rannaibh téit i līn cend comhorba sūas arīs i frithrusc coruce athair¹ 7 mac 7 tiagait ind amail cāch, cid bec cuit cāich dīb de.

Trian do crū cōiccir indrannait aitiri an dā trian n-aile i trī .i. trian do flai^h, trian do fine, trian do etarflai^h 7 do iteraibh. Trian dan etarflai^h 7 naneteribh [sic] ranntair trian de do muire rechtgi dodaféit a tegh rí[g], a trian do aitiribh, a trian n-aill do aidhbenaibh na tūaithi do roinn co hāen-screpoll. Nī crō co cōiccir fo cosmailius cliaro. Athroinn sin ar crō.

Gilla næm sonn ar pairt Mhailysa.

¹ aith- MS.
first r

² rainnait MS.

³ brair MS. with the mark for m over the

THE RULE OF PATRICK.

THE following Regula, taken from T.C.D. codex H. 3. 17, appears to be one of a number of fragments still extant of the Ríagail Pádraic. Another fragment occurs in LB. 11^b20 sq., of which both text and translation are given in Reeves' *Culdees*. The LB. text which is embodied in Reeves' work extends from 9^b1 to 12^b28. There, however, it is called the Rule of the Céli Dé, and is ascribed to Moelrúain. A third fragment occurs in the "Book of Lismore" (where the title Ríagail Pátraic appears). This has been published by Stokes in his *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore*, pp. 135 and 359. It is doubtful if the "Lex Patricii" of the Annalists is identical with the term "Cáin Pátraic," which was applied to the *Senchas Mór*.¹ Tigernach has the following entry under the year 737: "A conference between Aedh Allan and Cathal, son of Finngain, at Tirdaglass; the Lex Patricii held Ireland"; an entry which is amplified by Keating into: "It was about this time that a conference took place between the King of Ireland and Cathal Mac Fionngaine, King of Munster, at Tir-da-glass in Ormond, at which the Law (recht), and Right (dlighi), and Rent (cíos) of Patrick were ordered over Ireland by them." In the same Annals there are references, between the years 721 and 792, to the promulgation of a number of other Irish saints' "Laws." According to Reeves,² some of these saints were founders of churches which afterwards became the heads of sees, while others had no successors of the episcopal order; their "Lex" therefore had reference to their monastic influence, and owed its acknowledgment to the reputed sanctity of their lives. The "Lex Patricii," in the course of time, appears to have superseded all others, and was itself abandoned in the twelfth century for the comprehensive one

¹ *Laws*, vol. i., p. 19.

² Primate Colton's Visitation, p. iv.

bearing the name of St. Augustine.¹ Judging from the tenor of the entries in the Annals, it is probable that the term "Lex Patricii" corresponded with the Ríagail Pátraic, which treated of the mutual relations of the church and the tribe, rather than with the Cáin Pátraic or Senchas Mór. The fragment here given, though somewhat disconnected and, in places, obscure, is much fuller than the passage in the *Laws*² dealing with the relations of church and tribe. In the necessarily tentative translation given, I have studiously adhered to the structure of the original much more closely than would be justifiable in a text other than one dealing with early Irish Church law. Until many more texts on the same subject have been edited, it will be impossible to arrive at anything like the exact meaning of certain technical words and phrases. I should add that in the MS. this text concludes with a number of maxims in prose and verse which probably do not belong to the Regula.

I am indebted to the editors of this *Journal* for considerable help both in editing and interpreting the text.

J. G. O'KEEFFE.

¹ Primate Colton's Visitation, p. 56.

² Vol. ii., p. 345.

[RÍAGAIL PÁTRAIC.]

1. Foratā anmanda fer nĒrenn a timna Pátraic. Prímepscoip *cecha* tūaithe accu fri huirdned a n-óessa grāid, fri coisecrad a n-eclas, 7 fri hanmchairdes do flaithib 7 do airchindc[h]ib, fri nōemad 7 bendachad a clainde iar mbathius.

2. Ar nach tūath 7 nach cenēl oc nā biat epscoip frisna gnímaib seo, atbail dlígēd a creidme 7 a n-irsi, conid i suide téit *cech* duine assa richt chóir nā tabair tóeb fri hanmcharaid crāibdech,¹ 7 conid aire nā bí crích la nech fri peccad eter fingail ocus duinorgain ocus étrad 7 *cech* olc archena. Nach fer grāid didiu oc nā bí dlígēd nā eolus timthirechta a grāid 7² coná bí tūalaing oiffrind nā ceileabarthā ar bélaib rí 7 epscop, nī dlíg sāire nā eneclainn fir grāid i tūaithe nā i n-eclais.

3. Nach epscop dobeir ūasalgrāda for nech nā bí tūalaing [a] n-airberta eter chrābud³ 7 léigēd 7 anmchairde nā⁴ eolus rechta nā ríagla, is bidba báis do Dīa 7 do dōinib⁵ in t-epscoip sin. Ár is imdergad do C[h]ríst 7 da eclais a comgrāda do thabairt for neoch nā bí tūalaing a n-airberta fri nem 7 talmain, co mbi brāth do thūathaib 7 do ecaillsib, conid aire dlegar secht mbliadna peinne 7 secht cumail⁶ fri henech in Dūileman. Ár is ed foterā galar 7 angessa forsna clanna, eter eltraí 7 milliuda olchena, cen baithus ndligthech 7 cen dul fo láim n-epscoip i n-aimsir thēchtai, ár ní thic comláine in spirta nóim, cipé a léire baistither in duine, mane tē fó láim n-epscoip iar mbathus.

4. It é maccān co macu secht mbliadna nī bí acht a cúrsad ina chét-chinaid co n-abaind nō c[h]ris nō bois .i. trí bēimenna [Col. 853] forru co m-bais nō c[h]ris nō abaind co cend secht mbliadna. Nach fer grāid tra tairmit[h]éid a grāda co caillich for follus, asren díre a grād dond eclais sáraiget[h]ar nō is díles a tecmail lais do *cech* t[h]orba 7 is díles don tūaithe a tecmail leo do fuillmiud⁷ 7 indile,⁸ 7 ní dlíg nī a raind ecaillsi Dé 'na degaid sin, mane penne do rēir apad nō anmcharat chrābdig.

¹ chraibdig MS.² 7 is superfluous: cf. LB. 11^b41.³ crābdad MS.⁴ For nā leg. 7 ocnábé?⁵ duinib MS.⁶ LB. has cumala⁷ Gl. .i. marbdile⁸ Gl. .i. beodile

5. Ar ní fuil aitreib nime do anmain duine nād baithister ó baithus dligt[h]ech rē cech rét, conid aire foratā anmanda [fer] nĒrenn cona flaithib 7 a n-airechaib 7 a n-airchindchib co raib baithius 7 comna 7 gabāil écnairce ō cech eclais do manchaib tēchtaib, ár as oc trí[s]t 7 miscad Patraic co nóemaib Ērenn for cech flait 7 for cech manach nā timairg for a eclais saindiles baithius 7 comnai 7 gabāil ēcnairce inti.

6. Nach epscop tra sōertha¹ tūatha 7 eclaisi, is ē as anmchara dond aes grād, 7 is lais dogniād urddu tēchta, 7 is ē dobeir fortacht dóib co roiset a n-dliged hi tūaith 7 i n-eclais, 7 is é timairg for cech eclais co raib a durrthech 7 a relec hi nglaine, 7 co raib in altóir cona haidmib tēchtaib ar c[h]ind ind óessa grād dogrés.

7. Ocus cech airchindech fritái² in lessa doboing .i. bís ind-agaid in ordaigthi sea nō ac nach bí ind eclas hé³ dliged in t-epscof cumail de asa réir budessin⁴ nō a réir neich bus chomgrad dó, co raib frecre mbathius⁵ 7 comna 7 gabāil écnairce do cech duine isa eclas tēchta hí, 7 co raib idbairt chuirp Crīst for cech altóir. Ar is dīth na huile chredme dú nā bia in cetharda sa, 7 nach duine fristargu⁶ 'na aigid, ní fuil súil dó fri haitreib nime.

8. Ocus nach eclas oc nā bé tūara' manach do baithis 7 comna 7 gabāil écnairce, ní dlig dechmad nā boin cennaithe nā trian n-imnai. [Col. 854.]

9. Nī dlig airchindech a réir for a manchu nā dlig díre a seóit nā toichneda a eclais side, manibat óga a fritfolaid asa⁷ eclaisi di baithius 7 comna 7 gabāil n-écnairce, conid aire foratā anmanda fer nĒrenn, maine élat dliged a creidme⁸ 7 a n-irse 7 mani diúltat¹⁰ a n-Dúilemain 7 mā frisáiletar¹¹ dul a n-angnāis na nóem, co raib ind eclas for cubus fir grād fri baithius 7 comna 7 gabāil écnairce manach eter bíu 7 marbu 7 co roib oiffrenn for a altóir hi sollamnaib 7 prímféilib 7 domnaigib 7 co rabat aidmi oc cech altóir 7 terimpetóir¹² 7 anarta coisecarthai.

10. Ar nach eclas oc ná bí a tēchta nī dlig díre eclaisi Dé 7 ní heclas, acht ūam latrand 7 tádat a hainm la Crīst.

¹ leg. sōerta
⁵ leg. mbathis
⁹ chredme MS.

² leg. fritái (?)
⁶ Gl. .i. ticfa
¹⁰ diúltad MS.

³ hé seems corrupt here.
⁷ Gl. .i. frestal
¹¹ frisáiletar MS.

⁴ budesiū MS.
⁸ leg. probably na
¹² Gl. .i. imaltóir

11. Nach eclas hi *m̄bi* fer *grāid* di *minceailsib*¹ na tuaithe cenmotát *mōreclaisi* dligid *túarustul* a *grāid* .i. tech 7 airlisi 7 *dērgud*² 7 *deig-cheltaib*³ 7 *acnāmad*⁴ rodfera cen turbaid cen *dícheall* do *neoch* bes hi cumung na *eclaisi* .i. miach *cona* *indiud*⁵ 7 *bó blicht in cech ráithe* 7 *bíad sollaman*.

12. Aitire dogó *fria láim* de *manchaib cech eclaisi* bes *fora chubus fri túarustul*⁶ *cóir eter lóg mbaithis* 7 *tēchta comna* 7 *gabāil écnairce* na *n-uile manach eter bíu* 7 *marbu* 7 *oiffrend cecha domnaig* 7 *cecha prīm-sollamain* 7 *cecha prīm-fēile* 7 *ceileabrad cecha trātha* 7 *tri cōceaid*⁷ *cech trātha* do *chétal, mani thairmesca forcetul nō anmchairdes* .i. *ongad* 7 *baithis*.

13. Má *beith tra* do *hūaite ind āessa grāid lasna tūatha*,⁸ *cia beit trī hecaisi nō* a *cethair for cubus cech fír grāid acht* *rosó comand* 7 *baithis* do *anmain chāich* 7 *oiffrend hi sollamnaib* 7 *féilib* *fora n-altóir*.

14. It ē a *fritfolaidi-seom* *dond fír grāid* .i. *lá air n-indraic cech bliadna cona āil*⁹ 7 a *ithir* 7 a *lethgaból étaig* do *brutt nō* da *léinid nō* do *inur*. *Pruind chethruir* ar *notlaic* 7 *chaisc* 7 *chingcís*.

15. Má *beith tra* do *ūaisle ind fír grāid* 7 a *airmidin dosor-magar* a *dligid* 7 a *sáire forsanní doruirmisem*.

16. Ar is ed ba *dliged fer grāid cecha chille*, *ūair nād* *bí lāndfre* na *eclaisi Dé acht* *dú i m̄bi óes grāid* 7 *maicclēirig*¹⁰ *indraice* at é *endaic fri athigid n-ecalsa*.

¹ mindecaillsib MS. ² Gl. .i. étach ³ Gl. .i. deig-étaigib: the dative is curious. LB. 11^b32 has tech 7 airnisse 7 dergud 7 deceltt. ⁴ Gl. .i. biad-foirese ⁵ Gl. .i. cona andland ⁶ Gl. .i. nodligid ⁷ choecaid MS. ⁸ There seems to be a lacuna here: leg. is cóir? ⁹ tsil MS. ¹⁰ maiccleirid MS.

THE RULE OF PATRICK

1. IT is on the souls of the men of Ireland from the Testament of Patrick:—each tribe to have a chief bishop for the ordination of their clergy, for the consecration of their churches, and for the spiritual guidance of princes and chieftains, for the sanctification and blessing of their offspring after baptism.

2. For the tribe and the nation which have not bishops for these works, the law of their belief and of their faith dies, and then it is that each person, who does not trust to a pious soul-friend, forsakes his proper guise; and therefore there are no bounds with anyone to sin, both parricide and manslaughter, and lust and every other villainy. Any ordained man then who is mindful neither of the rule nor of the knowledge of service of his order so that he is not capable of the Offering or of celebrating the Hours before kings and bishops, he is not entitled to exemption,¹ or to the honour-price of one ordained, in laity or church.

3. Any bishop who confers high orders on anyone who is unable to practise them in piety and reading and spiritual guidance, and who has not a knowledge of the law or of the rule, that bishop is guilty of death to God and to men. For it is an insult to Christ and to His Church to confer their orders on anyone who is incapable of using them towards Heaven and earth, so that it is ruin to peoples and churches; wherefore seven years of penance and seven cumals are necessary by way of reparation to the Creator. For it is this which causes plague and sicknesses to tribes, both . . . and other destructions, not having lawful baptism, and not going “under the hand”² of a bishop at the prescribed time; for the perfection of the Holy Spirit comes not, however fervently a person is baptised, unless he “goes under the hand”² of a bishop after baptism.

4. It is children up to boys of seven years who are only chastised for their first crime with scourge or belt or palm of hand, to wit, three blows on them with palm of hand or belt or scourge to the end of seven years.³ Anyone in orders, however,

¹ *i. e.* all the privileges of the clergy; no taxes, freedom from military service, &c.

² See note.

³ *i. e.* till their seventh year.

who plainly transgresses his orders with a nun pays the fine of his orders to the church which he outrages, or it is the lawful property [? of the man himself] what falls to him of every profit, and it is the lawful property of the people, what falls to them of dead cattle and live cattle. And he [the ordained man] is entitled to nothing on the part of the church of God after that, unless he does penance at the will of an abbot or a pious soul-friend.

5. For there is no heavenly abode for the soul of a person who is not baptised according to lawful baptism before everything; wherefore it is upon the souls [of the men] of Ireland with their princes and their erenachs and their chiefs that there be baptism and communion and the singing of the intercession by every church to proper *manach* tenants; for the curse and malediction of Patrick and the saints of Ireland is on every prince and every *manach* tenant who does not impose on his own special church baptism and communion and the chanting of the intercession therein.

6. Any bishop whom peoples and churches free, it is he who is spiritual adviser to the ordained folk; and it is with him they perform their prescribed offices; and it is he who gives help to them so that they may attain to their due in tribe and church; and it is he who constrains each church to have its oratory and its burial-ground purified, and that the altar has its proper fittings always in readiness for the ordained.

7. And each erenach who opposes the dues which he levies, (?) that is, who is against this ordinance or to whom the church does not belong, the bishop is entitled to a cumal of it at his own will or at the will of one who is of equal rank, so that there be an equivalent of baptism and communion and the singing of the intercession to each person whose proper church it is; and so that there be an offering of the body of Christ on each altar; for it is ruin of all belief where these four are not found; and any person who shall oppose it, there is no hope for him of an abode in Heaven.

8. And any church in which there is no service to *manach* tenants for baptism and communion and the singing of the intercession; it is not entitled to tithes or to the heriot cow or to a third of [each] bequest.

9. An erenach is not entitled [to impose] his will on his *manach* tenants, nor is he entitled to the fine of his "sed" . . .

p. 354, l. 17	բաւմբեօւաւց	sailmchélaiğh
l. 18	ւորրօ	immurgu [and so throughout]
ib.	բւեօ	filid
l. 20	բրբս	espc
l. 21	օլլամ բււօ	ollam filed
l. 26	բաւ ւերբ	sai litre la flaitħ
l. 28	after բաւբե insert ocht scripuill for <i>deich</i> n-uingib for <i>deich</i> cumalaib	
ib.	.xxx.	fichit
l. 30	բրբ բ	fri ri
p. 358, l. 1	բեբօլ	descepol
l. 2	բաբրաժա	p. 16b, saerbratha
l. 4	բօբբօաւ	forcetail
l. 5	բեօ	mdit
l. 16	ւօւղիցեժ	indlighthech
l. 20	բրբօմարբ	friscomarç
l. 28	բւե—բւրբուօ	file dono—fuirmidħ
p. 358, l. 4	բւե	fili
l. 16	նաււււա—մօրա	nAilella—móra
ll. 19 and 20	come immediately after բրբ նա ղբնաօ (l. 17) in the MS.	hanmnighedħ
l. 27	հաւմմուցեօ	p. 17a, is mac do
p. 360, l. 5	ւր մաբ օա	dosam—forbairt
l. 8	օօրօմ—բօրբաւրբ	foglume
l. 10	բեցւումբ	trénainim
l. 12	տո . . . ճումմ	ceist
l. 13	բբբ	iar ndliged—iar ndliged
ll. 14, 15	ւարնօւղւցւօ—ւարնօւղւց	fornoce
l. 17	բրբոբ	nairidħgha (sic)
l. 22	նաւրիցա	cumħol
l. 28	cumal	uaisle
p. 362, l. 6	նաւրբ	fo
l. 9	բօբ	hairm
l. 13	հաւրու	mó
l. 18	ւօ	folud
l. 25	բօւա[ւօ]	A sárugħudħ
p. 364, l. 6	մարա բրբսօ	p. 17b, tanaisi
l. 9	տաւրբ	ma
l. 11	ւա	condat
l. 12	բօնօաժ	cach
l. 17	տաբ	banbém 7 cnocbeim
l. 22	բանբեւմ բնօբեւմ	It
p. 366, l. 3	բ	tħelcodħ
l. 6	բելբօ	athlaech
l. 8	աղլաբ	Martan
l. 21	նարբան	grdd
l. 24	ցրուօ	cumal
l. 25	բււմալ	saighes
p. 368, l. 3	բաւցբ	teora bai
l. 4	.ւււ. բաւ	do cach gradħ fri
l. 5	օօ բաբ բրբ	rímthir
l. 6	բւմբբ	aile dono
ll. 9, 11	բւ օնօ	im chóica[i]t
l. 10	.ւ. աբ	

THE DISTRIBUTION OF *CRÓ* AND *DÍBAD*

MS. H. 3. 18, p. 25 a.

Ropu doraidh laisna huctaru na nGáidel cinnas nó roinnfítis chrao 7 *díbad*. Ar is inann leo-som roinn cró 7 *díbad*. Is *iarum* immustarcomolsat an uctair¹ na nGōedhel 7 rohord-aigset indas noroindfítis cró 7 *díbad* a firaicned screptrá 7 chuibsi.² Ro ordaighset *iarum* 7 immadeisidh leo a buith a mbēscna isind inis se *ō* tosogh co forcenn 7 adrodamnatar Pātraic 7 *fir* Ērenn olcena a buith samla[id] 7 an uctair robātar a ndegaid Pātraic *iar* cretem ro ordaigset³ i commu cāich .i. Cennfoeladh⁴ mac Ailella 7 Dubh[d]artach Bēirri fodeoidh 7 Fingin mac Flainn 7 Fingen mac Conmaic 7 Cormac mac Cuilennāin.

Ceist didiu. Cislir rann⁵ fil for crū? Nī *hansa*. A .III. ranna .i. rann *ō* bon cētamus 7 rann *ō* inn 7 rand armedōn.

Rann *ō* bun cētamus .i. *téit* rī in cōicidh nō na mōrthúaithe i tech rī[g] Ērenn, mā[d] rī⁶ cōicid⁷; mā[d] rī⁸ mōrthúaithe, *téit* i tegh rīgh in cōicid nō indara rīgh cena 7 gaibhid⁸ gīall n-ann im cinaid⁹ indī marbas a *fer*, co n-ēirren fris a cró 7 ranntair *iarum* in cró. *Sechtmad* as cētamus do gīall frisi tobongar.¹⁰ Ranntair i trī *iar*sin. Trīan as don ardrīg dondboing 7 trīan do crū na deirbfine 7 trīan do *flaithib* ilibh huilibh 7 berid rī¹¹ in cōicid nō na mōrthúaithe a cró n-uile leis *acht* cuit ind ardrīgh 7 is hūadha beres cāch a cuit itir fine 7 *flaith*¹² .i. a trīan tic na *flaithi*, fācabar a trīan lais-[s]im 7 beridh in *flaith* is nesom dō-som na dā trīan n-aile 7 fācbaid cāch āe trīan leis beos .i. cach tellugh asa *téit* beos co nā tūarat ní de *etir*.

Cró *ō* inn dano, is hēisidh[e] saighes fine ar urradhas ar ath-athgabāil (*sic*) 7 nī bī cuit ardrīgh occo acht a *flaith* na fine fadesin. Rantair *iarum* i trī beos .i. trīan do crū 7 trīan do *flaithib* ilibh, *acht* an cuit rosaigh ind ardrīgh¹³ asin crū tōisech .i. asin cró ranntar *ō* bon. Is ed rosaigh *flaith* ina fine, hūair todboing¹⁴ 7 fācaibh trīan i tellugh cachá flathai. Téit bēos

¹ a huctair MS. ² chuidhbhsi MS. ³ ro ordaidhsét MS. ⁴ Cennfoedladh MS. ⁵ a added under the line ⁶ righ MS. ⁷ coicedh MS. ⁸ gaibhe MS. ⁹ cinaigh MS. ¹⁰ 7 trīan do cru *add. deleted by puncta* ¹¹ rig MS. ¹² fāli MS. ¹³ ard drīgh MS. ¹⁴ todboing MS.

frithrusc sūas coruice inn ardrig 7 is ann ar[s]isestar. A ndo-hūartéit de 7 in cuit rosaigh inn *flaith* na fine asin (p. 25^b) crū tōisech, is *ed* rosaigh inn ardrigh asin cruíd.

Crō armedōn .i. *téit* mōrtúait̃h iarna n-atugh do sochrait aiccme bīs hūadhaib hi cēin iar marbad *fir* dīb 7 nī damthar *cert* nā dlige^d dōibh ima *fer* co toibget in mōrtúath ar ēigin leo-sium co slūaga 7 innu (?) 7 atgelltar a cuit dōibh din crū tar hēisi a tobhaigh lēo.

Ocus is ē crō randtar ar līn semmann: trīan do crū deirb-fine beus 7 trīan donaib *flaithib* amail remindērbartamar isna hībh crōaibh *aile* 7 trīan don tslūagh nodsaig leo-sum, acht iar n-airec as na ndaghdaíne 7 iar līn cāich 7 iar *méit* a cumaing ranntar ō hisil co hūasal, acht ní bí nech dībh cín ní *itir*, cidh bec cuit cāich dīb de.

Ocus an trīan rosaigh in derbfine, cinnus ranntair? Nī *hansa*. Ranntair óthá athair 7 mac co senathair for cūlo 7 frithrusc a frithisi coruici ingen-ar-mēraibh. Athair¹ 7 mac *cétamus*, *leth* dōibh dīnaisc. Brāthair athar 7 mac rannait² aithraind atherugh co *leth* in *edh* dohurrtéit ann. A ndohurrtéit ann iaram ranntair i trī. Trīan do brāthair³ 7 ranntar a mbīs ann beus i trī. A trīan dondī bes nesam dō iarsan *urd* cēdna, acht is līn cenn ngab^{dla} *tét* 7 nī līn cend comorba, 7 a ndourrtéit ann fadeoidh *forsna* trēinibh .i. in tan rosaigh senathair for cūlo a mbec dourrtéit ann for rannaibh *téit* i līn cend comhorba sūas arís i frithrusc coruce athair¹ 7 mac 7 tīagait ind amail cāch, cid bec cuit cāich dīb de.

Trīan do crū cōiccir indrannait aithir¹ an dā trīan n-aile i trī .i. trīan do *flaith*, trīan do fine, trīan do *etarflaith* 7 do iteraibh. Trīan dan *etarflaith* 7 naneteribh [sic] ranntair trīan de do muire rechtgi dodaféit a tegh rí[g], a trīan do aithiribh, a trīan n-aill do aindhenaibh na tūaithi do roinn co hāen-screpoll. Nī crō co cōiccir fo cosmailius cliaro. Athroinn *sin* ar crō.

Gilla næm sonn ar pairt Mhailysa.

¹ aith- MS.
first r

² rannait MS.

³ brair MS. *with the mark for m over the*

THE RULE OF PATRICK.

THE following Regula, taken from T.C.D. codex H. 3. 17, appears to be one of a number of fragments still extant of the *Ríagail Pádraic*. Another fragment occurs in LB. 11^b20 sq., of which both text and translation are given in Reeves' *Culdees*. The LB. text which is embodied in Reeves' work extends from 9^b1 to 12^b28. There, however, it is called the Rule of the Céli Dé, and is ascribed to Moelrúain. A third fragment occurs in the "Book of Lismore" (where the title *Ríagail Pátraic* appears). This has been published by Stokes in his *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore*, pp. 135 and 359. It is doubtful if the "Lex Patricii" of the Annalists is identical with the term "Cáin Pátraic," which was applied to the *Senchas Mór*.¹ Tigernach has the following entry under the year 737: "A conference between Aedh Allan and Cathal, son of Finngain, at Tirdaglass; the Lex Patricii held Ireland"; an entry which is amplified by Keating into: "It was about this time that a conference took place between the King of Ireland and Cathal Mac Fionngaine, King of Munster, at Tir-da-glass in Ormond, at which the Law (recht), and Right (dlighi), and Rent (cíos) of Patrick were ordered over Ireland by them." In the same Annals there are references, between the years 721 and 792, to the promulgation of a number of other Irish saints' "Laws." According to Reeves,² some of these saints were founders of churches which afterwards became the heads of sees, while others had no successors of the episcopal order; their "Lex" therefore had reference to their monastic influence, and owed its acknowledgment to the reputed sanctity of their lives. The "Lex Patricii," in the course of time, appears to have superseded all others, and was itself abandoned in the twelfth century for the comprehensive one

¹ *Laws*, vol. i., p. 19.

² Primate Colton's Visitation, p. iv.

bearing the name of St. Augustine.¹ Judging from the tenor of the entries in the Annals, it is probable that the term "Lex Patricii" corresponded with the Ríagail Pátraic, which treated of the mutual relations of the church and the tribe, rather than with the Cáin Pátraic or Senchas Mór. The fragment here given, though somewhat disconnected and, in places, obscure, is much fuller than the passage in the *Laws*² dealing with the relations of church and tribe. In the necessarily tentative translation given, I have studiously adhered to the structure of the original much more closely than would be justifiable in a text other than one dealing with early Irish Church law. Until many more texts on the same subject have been edited, it will be impossible to arrive at anything like the exact meaning of certain technical words and phrases. I should add that in the MS. this text concludes with a number of maxims in prose and verse which probably do not belong to the Regula.

I am indebted to the editors of this *Journal* for considerable help both in editing and interpreting the text.

J. G. O'KEEFFE.

¹ Primate Colton's Visitation, p. 56.

² Vol. ii., p. 345.

[RÍAGAIL PÁTRAIC.]

1. Foratā anmanda fer nĒrenn a timna Pátraic. Prímepscoḡ fr̄isna ceḡha tūaithe accu fr̄i huirdned a n-óessa gr̄aid, fr̄i coisecrad a n-eclas, 7 fr̄i hanmchairdes do flaitḡib 7 do airchindc[h]ib, fr̄i nōemad 7 bendachad a clainde iar mbathius.

2. Ar nach tūath 7 nach cenēl oc nā biat epscoḡḡ fr̄isna gn̄maib seo, atbail dl̄iged a creidme 7 a n-irsi, comid i suide téit ceḡh duine assa richt chóir nā tabair tóeb fr̄i hanmcharaid cr̄aibdech,¹ 7 comid aire nā bí cr̄ich la nech fr̄i peccad eter fingail ocus duinorgain ocus étrad 7 ceḡh olc archena. Nach fer gr̄aid didiu oc nā bí dl̄ighed nā eolus timthirechta a gr̄aid 7² coná bí tūalaing oiffrind nā ceileabarthā ar bélaib r̄ig 7 epscoḡ, n̄i dl̄ig sāire nā eneclainn fir gr̄aid i tūaitḡ nā i n-eclais.

3. Nach epscoḡḡ doḡeir ūasalgr̄ada for nech nā bí tūalaing [a] n-airberta eter chr̄abud³ 7 léigend 7 anmchairde nā⁴ eolus rechta nā r̄iagla, is bidba báis do D̄ia 7 do d̄oinib⁵ in t-epscoḡḡ sin. Ár is imdergad do C[h]r̄ist 7 da eclais a comgr̄ada do thabairt for neoch nā bí tūalaing a n-airberta fr̄i nem 7 talmain, co mbi br̄ath do thūathaib 7 do ecaillsib, comid aire dlegar secht m̄bliadna peinne 7 secht cumail⁶ fr̄i henech in Dūileman. Ár is ed foterā galar 7 angessa forsna clanna, eter eltraí 7 milliuda olchena, cen baithus ndligthech 7 cen dul fo láim n-epscoḡḡ i n-aimsir thēchtaí, ár ní th̄ic comlāine in sp̄irta nóim, cipé a léire baistither in duine, mane tē fó láim n-epscoḡḡ iar mbathus.

4. It é maccān co macu secht m̄bliadna n̄i bí acht a cúrsad ina chét-chinaid co n-abaind nō c[h]ris nō bois .i. tr̄i b̄eimenna [Col. 853] forru co m-bais nō c[h]ris nō abaind co cend secht m̄bliadnae. Nach fer gr̄aid tra tairmit[h]éid a gr̄ada co caillich for follus, asren díre a gr̄ad dond eclais sāraiget[h]ar nō is díles a tecmail lais do ceḡh t[h]orba 7 is díles don tūaitḡ a tecmail leo do fuillmiud⁷ 7 indile,⁸ 7 ní dl̄ig n̄i a raind ecaillsi Dé 'na degaid sin, mane penne do r̄eir apad nō anmcharat chr̄abdig.

¹ ch̄raibdig MS.² is superfluous: cf. LB. 11^b41.³ cr̄abud MS.⁴ For nā leg. 7 ocnábé?⁵ duinib MS.⁶ LB. has cumala⁷ Gl. .i. marbdile⁸ Gl. .i. beodile

5. Ar ní fuil aitreib *nime* do *anmain* duine nād baithister ó baithus dligt[h]ech rē *cech* rét, *conid* aire foratā anmanda [fer] nĒrenn cona flait[h]ib 7 a n-airechaib 7 a n-airchindchib co raib baithius 7 comna 7 gabāil écnairce ō *cech* eclais do manchaib tēchtaib, ár as oc trí[s]t 7 miscad *Patraic* co nóemaib Ērenn for *cech* flait[h] 7 for *cech* manach nā timairg for a eclais saindiles baithius 7 comnai 7 gabāil écnairce inti.

6. Nach *epscop tra* sōertha¹ tūatha 7 eclaisi, is ē as anmchara dond áes gráid, 7 is lais dogniád urddu tēchtaí, 7 is ē dobeir fortacht dóib co roiset a n-dliged hi tūaith 7 i n-eclais, 7 is é timairg for *cech* eclais co raib a durrthech 7 a relec hi nglaine, 7 co raib in altóir cona haidmib tēchtaib ar c[h]ind ind óessa gráid dogrés.

7. Ocus *cech* airchindech fritái² in lessa doboing .i. bís ind-agaid in ordaighi sea nō ac nach bí ind eclas hé³ dligid in t-epscop cumail de asa réir budessin⁴ nō a réir neich bus chomgrād dó, co raib frecra mbathius⁵ 7 comna 7 gabāil écnairce do *cech* duine isa eclas tēchta hí, 7 co raib idbairt chuirp Crīst for *cech* altóir. Ar is dith na huile chredme dú nā bia in cetharda sa, 7 nach duine fristargu⁶ 'na aigid, ní fuil súil dó fri haitreib *nime*.

8. Ocus nach eclas oc nā bé tūara⁷ manach do baithis 7 comna 7 gabāil écnairce, ní dlig dechmad nā boin cennaithe nā trian n-imnai. [Col. 854.]

9. Nī dlig airchindech a réir for a manchu nā dlig díre a seóit nā toichneda a eclais side, manibat óga a frit[h]folaid asa⁸ eclaisi di baithius 7 comna 7 gabāil n-écnairce, *conid* aire foratā anmanda fer nĒrenn, maine élat dliged a creidme⁹ 7 a n-irse 7 mani diúltat¹⁰ a n-Dúilemain 7 mā frisáiletar¹¹ dul a n-angnāis na nóem, co raib ind eclas for cubus fir gráid fri baithius 7 comna 7 gabāil écnairce manach eter bíu 7 marbu 7 co roib oiffrenn for a altóir hi sollamnaib 7 prímféilib 7 domnaigib 7 co rabat aidmi oc *cech* altóir 7 terimpetóir¹² 7 anarta coisecart/hai.

10. Ar nach eclas oc ná bí a tēchta nī dlig díre eclaisi Dé 7 ní heclas, acht ūam latrand 7 tádat a hainm la Crīst.

¹ leg. sōerta
⁵ leg. mbathis
⁹ chredme MS.

² leg. fritái (?)
⁶ Gl. .i. ticfa
¹⁰ diúltad MS.

³ hé seems corrupt here.
⁷ Gl. .i. frestal
¹¹ frisáiletar MS.

⁴ budesiū MS.
⁸ leg. probably na
¹² Gl. .i. imaltóir

11. *Nach* eclas hi *mbi* fer *grāid* di *minecailsib*¹ na tuaithe cenmotát *mōreclaisi* dligid *tūarustul* a *grāid* .i. tech 7 *airlisi* 7 *dērgud*² 7 *deig-cheltaib*³ 7 *acnāmad*⁴ rodfera cen turbaid cen *díchell* do *neoch* bes hi cumung na *eclaisi* .i. miach *cona* indiud⁵ 7 bó *blicht in cech ráithe* 7 *biad sollaman*.

12. *Aitire* dogó *fria láim* de *manchaib cech eclaisi* bes *fora chubus fri tūarustul*⁶ cóir *eter lóg mbaithis* 7 *tēchta comna* 7 gabāil *écnairce* na *n-uile manach eter biú* 7 *marbu* 7 *oiffrend cecha domnaig* 7 *cecha prim-sollamain* 7 *cecha prim-féile* 7 *ceileabrad cecha trātha* 7 *tri cōcaid*⁷ *cech trātha* do *chétal, mani thairmesca* forcetul *nō anmchairdes* .i. *ongad* 7 *baithis*.

13. *Má beth tra* do *hūaite ind āessa grāid lasna tūatha*,⁸ *cia beit tri hecailsi nō* a *cethair for cubus cech fir grāid acht* *rosó comand* 7 *baithis* do *anmain chāich* 7 *oiffrend hi sollamnaib* 7 *féilib* *fora n-altōir*.

14. It ē a *fritifolaidi-seom* dond *fir grāid* .i. *lá air n-indraic cech bliadna cona sil*⁹ 7 a *ithir* 7 a *lethgaból étaig* do *brutt nō* da *léinid nō* do *inur*. Pruid *chethruir* ar *notlaic* 7 *chaisc* 7 *chingcís*.

15. *Mā beith tra* do *ūaisle ind fir grāid* 7 a *airmidin dofor-magar* a *dligid* 7 a *sáire forsanní doruirmisem*.

16. Ar is ed ba *dliged fer grāid cecha chille*, *ūair nād bí lāndfre* na *eclaisi Dé acht* *dú i mbi óes grāid* 7 *maiccléirig*¹⁰ *indraice* at é *endaic fri athigid* *n-ecalsa*.

¹ *mindecailsib* MS.

² Gl. .i. *étach*

³ Gl. .i. *deig-étaigib*: the dative

is curious. LB. 11^b32 has *tech* 7 *airlisse* 7 *dergud* 7 *deceltt*.

⁴ Gl. .i. *biad-*

foirese

⁵ Gl. .i. *cona andland*

⁶ Gl. .i. *nodligid*

⁷ *choecaid* MS.

⁸ There seems to be a lacuna here: *leg.* is *cóir*?

⁹ *tsil* MS.

¹⁰ *maiccleirid* MS.

THE RULE OF PATRICK

1. IT is on the souls of the men of Ireland from the Testament of Patrick:—each tribe to have a chief bishop for the ordination of their clergy, for the consecration of their churches, and for the spiritual guidance of princes and chieftains, for the sanctification and blessing of their offspring after baptism.

2. For the tribe and the nation which have not bishops for these works, the law of their belief and of their faith dies, and then it is that each person, who does not trust to a pious soul-friend, forsakes his proper guise; and therefore there are no bounds with anyone to sin, both parricide and manslaughter, and lust and every other villainy. Any ordained man then who is mindful neither of the rule nor of the knowledge of service of his order so that he is not capable of the Offering or of celebrating the Hours before kings and bishops, he is not entitled to exemption,¹ or to the honour-price of one ordained, in laity or church.

3. Any bishop who confers high orders on anyone who is unable to practise them in piety and reading and spiritual guidance, and who has not a knowledge of the law or of the rule, that bishop is guilty of death to God and to men. For it is an insult to Christ and to His Church to confer their orders on anyone who is incapable of using them towards Heaven and earth, so that it is ruin to peoples and churches; wherefore seven years of penance and seven cumals are necessary by way of reparation to the Creator. For it is this which causes plague and sicknesses to tribes, both and other destructions, not having lawful baptism, and not going “under the hand”² of a bishop at the prescribed time; for the perfection of the Holy Spirit comes not, however fervently a person is baptised, unless he “goes under the hand”² of a bishop after baptism.

4. It is children up to boys of seven years who are only chastised for their first crime with scourge or belt or palm of hand, to wit, three blows on them with palm of hand or belt or scourge to the end of seven years.³ Anyone in orders, however,

¹ *i. e.* all the privileges of the clergy; no taxes, freedom from military service, &c.

² See note.

³ *i. e.* till their seventh year.

who plainly transgresses his orders with a nun pays the fine of his orders to the church which he outrages, or it is the lawful property [? of the man himself] what falls to him of every profit, and it is the lawful property of the people, what falls to them of dead cattle and live cattle. And he [the ordained man] is entitled to nothing on the part of the church of God after that, unless he does penance at the will of an abbot or a pious soul-friend.

5. For there is no heavenly abode for the soul of a person who is not baptised according to lawful baptism before everything; wherefore it is upon the souls [of the men] of Ireland with their princes and their erenachs and their chiefs that there be baptism and communion and the singing of the intercession by every church to proper *manach* tenants; for the curse and malediction of Patrick and the saints of Ireland is on every prince and every *manach* tenant who does not impose on his own special church baptism and communion and the chanting of the intercession therein.

6. Any bishop whom peoples and churches free, it is he who is spiritual adviser to the ordained folk; and it is with him they perform their prescribed offices; and it is he who gives help to them so that they may attain to their due in tribe and church; and it is he who constrains each church to have its oratory and its burial-ground purified, and that the altar has its proper fittings always in readiness for the ordained.

7. And each erenach who opposes the dues which he levies, (?) that is, who is against this ordinance or to whom the church does not belong, the bishop is entitled to a cumal of it at his own will or at the will of one who is of equal rank, so that there be an equivalent of baptism and communion and the singing of the intercession to each person whose proper church it is; and so that there be an offering of the body of Christ on each altar; for it is ruin of all belief where these four are not found; and any person who shall oppose it, there is no hope for him of an abode in Heaven.

8. And any church in which there is no service to *manach* tenants for baptism and communion and the singing of the intercession; it is not entitled to tithes or to the heriot cow or to a third of [each] bequest.

9. An erenach is not entitled [to impose] his will on his *manach* tenants, nor is he entitled to the fine of his "sed" . . .

of his church unless the reciprocal obligations of the church be fully discharged of baptism and communion and the singing of the intercession ; wherefore it is upon the souls of the men of Ireland, unless they evade the rule of their belief and their faith, and unless they deny their Creator, and if they hope to go in the company of the saints, that the church should be on the conscience of an ordained man for baptism and communion and the singing of the intercession for *manach* tenants both living and dead, and that there should be Offering on its altar on solemnities and chief feasts and Sundays, and that there should be fittings on each altar and portable altar and consecrated linen cloths.

10. For the church which has not its proper equipment is not entitled to the fine of God's church, and it is not a church, but its name according to Christ is a den of thieves and robbers.

11. Any church in which there is an ordained man of the small churches of the tribe apart from the great churches, he is entitled to the wage of his order, that is, house, and enclosure and bed and clothing, and his ration that is sufficient for him, without exemption, without neglect of all that is in the power of the church, that is, a sack with its "kitchen," and a milch cow each quarter, and the food of festivals.

12. A hostage, whom he shall choose from the *manach* tenants of each church which is on his conscience, [he shall have] as a security for just wage, both price of baptism and the dues of communion and the singing of the intercession of all the *manach* tenants living and dead ; and Offering every Sunday and on every chief solemnity and every chief festival, and the celebration of each canonical Hour, and the singing of the three fifties¹ every canonical Hour, unless instruction and spiritual guidance, even unction and baptism, prevent [him].

13. If in the opinion of the tribe the ordained folk be too few, [it is lawful] that there be three churches or four on the conscience of each ordained man, provided that there come communion and baptism for the soul of each and Offering on solemnities and festivals on their altars.

14. These are his² reciprocal duties to the ordained man : a proper day's ploughing each year, with its seed and its arable land, and half of clothes for mantle or for shirt or for tunic. Dinner for four at Christmas and Easter and Pentecost.

¹ *i. e.* the 150 Psalms.

² *i. e.* the *manach* tenant's.

15. In proportion to the dignity of the ordained man, his due and his exemption are increased over and above what we have enumerated.

16. For it is this that would be due: an ordained man to every church, since there is not full fine of the church of God save where there are ordained men and proper young clerics, and they innocent, for frequenting the church.

NOTES.

foratá, it is (*incumbent*) on; *fortá* would be expected here. Both *fortá* and *foratá* occur in the glossary to Meyer's *Hibernica Minora*; and O'Davoren's *Glossary* has *forathá*. O'Donovan's Supplement has *forta* = 'it is due,' and *foratha* = 'it is ordained.' For the latter he quotes H. 3. 17 (O'D. 600). The word occurs in that MS. in a small slip of parchment set in between cols. 450 and 451, where the context is: *Foratha nech dogni gufadnaisé in fiach doscara isé fil fair inn.*

éonaire, *intercession*, *requiem*. See note at p. 206, Reeves' *Culdees*. Dr. Strachan has drawn my attention to two passages in LL.—278*45 and 283*38—where the meaning is *requiem*. The word seems to have been applied to some special prayer or litany recited for the absent and the dead.

manach. Throughout this text the meaning seems to be *lay tenant of ecclesiastical lands*; cf. *Laws*, Glossary.

eltraí, ?

lethgaból étaig. I have not been able to ascertain the precise meaning of *lethgaból* in the context. Several examples of the use of the word are given in the Glossary to the *Laws*, p. 531, but none of them suits here, where the meaning seems to be in the nature of a *tribute* (of clothing) from the *manach* tenants to the ordained.

freera, *equivalent*, see *Laws*, Glossary.

díre a ísóit ná toichneda. What the precise meaning of the phrase—evidently a legal one—in this text is I cannot say. Cf., however, LB. 11^b23, *Laws*, vol. iv., p. 362, and *Laws*, Glossary.

terimpetóir; Gl. *imaltóir*, *portable altar*? Cf. Glossary to Stokes' *Three Middle-Irish Homilies*, and to his *Lismore Lives*, s. v. *immaltoir*.

teomail. Can this be an error for *tecmái*, 3 sg. s. subj. of *doecmaing*? The passage in which it occurs is anything but clear as it stands.

in lessa doboing. Cf. *Laws*, v. 118, and Glossary, s. v. *les* and *toibgim*.

cona áil 7 a ithir. This passage is somewhat obscure to me as it stands. Assuming that there is no corruption, the meaning would appear to be that among other reciprocal duties from the *manach* tenant to the ordained were: (1) the grant in "conacre" of as much arable land as a man might plough in one day, (2) the actual ploughing (? and general preparation) of it, and (3) the seed for it.

dul fo láim n-epscoip, to go under the hand of a bishop. In Mod. Ir., to be confirmed.

FÉILIRE ADAMNÁIN.

THE following short poem is not an uncommon form of Irish prayer addressed to the saints who preside over the different seasons. It is contained in four MSS. : a Brussels MS. from which a transcript of the poem was made by Dr. Whitley Stokes, and three Royal Irish Academy MSS., 23 P. 3, fol. 19 a ; 23 G. 23, p. 42 ; and 23 G. 27, p. 204. Of the Academy MSS., 23 G. 23, and 23 G. 27, two paper MSS. called the O'Longan MSS., of which the former bears various dates from 1790 to 1831, and the latter the date 1815, are of no interest as regards this text, the copy of it contained in them being clearly transcribed from 23 P. 3, with the spelling modernised. This latter MS., a small folio vellum written in the year 1467, and consisting almost entirely of religious pieces, has been catalogued by Dr. Meyer in *Archiv*, vol. ii., p. 136. The Brussels MS. containing the poem is a thin paper quarto consisting of 214 leaves. It is preserved in the Bibliothèque Royale, where it is marked 5100-4, and was transcribed about the year 1630 by Michael O'Clery. A full description of its contents is to be found in the introduction to Stokes' edition of the Martyrology of O'Gorman. Our poem begins at fol. 92^b, l. 21.

The poem is composed in the metre called *Rinnard*. A full description of this metre, which is also employed in the Féilire of Oengus, is given in *Revue Celtique*, vol. xx., p. 192. In it, each stanza consists of four verses, and each verse contains six syllables. The second and fourth verses rhyme ; and the final word of the third verse assonates with some word in the fourth—e.g. *idain, Grigair, gaire, Maire, inat, spirat*, etc. This assonance is obligatory, however, only when there is no assonance between the final syllables of the second, third, and fourth lines. If we have this triple assonance, the metre is called *Rinnard trí n-ard*, as in the stanza 'In feilire,' etc., where the three words *saeraibh, randaibh, naemhaibh* rhyme.

Otherwise the metre is known as Rinnard da n-ard, as in the first five stanzas, where there is assonance only between *two final* words.

As is the case with most Irish hymns the authorship of this one seems to be doubtful. In the Brussels MS. it is ascribed to Adamnan; in 23 P. 3 no author is mentioned; in 23 G. 23 it is attributed to St. Ciaran, while 23 G. 27 has the following heading: Creidim gurbé Cormac Naomtha Mac Cullionáin adubairt na rainnsi um dhiaidh. However, it is certainly later than the age of any of them, though the exact period of its composition is doubtful. It contains such Middle-Irish forms as *bliadna* for *bliadnae*, *ionat* for *inad*, and *Íssa* for the *Íssu* of the Glosses.

It is not unlikely that the original poem ended at *nemda*. Then comes what appears to be a comparison with the Féilire of Oengus, followed by six verses of invocation which are also possibly a later addition. I have called the Brussels and Royal Irish Academy MSS., respectively, B and P. My text is that of the former; and all the important variants from the latter are given in the foot-notes. I wish to acknowledge gratefully the help that Dr. Strachan has given me in my difficulties.

Incipit feleire Adamnain dia mathair hic.

- 1 Noimh nac ceithre raithe dutracht lim a nguidhe
Romsaerat¹ ar phiana² noimh na bliadhna huile.
- 2 Naoimh ind erraigh errdairc lim do deoin Dé daltait³
Im Bright noigh niodhain im Grighair im Pattraicc.
- 3 Naimh int samraidh tirim⁴ impa ata mo baile
On tírsa co tíssa⁵ co híssa mac Maire.
- 4 Naimh ind foghmair álainn ailim drong nad dichéol⁶
Co tísat im gaire⁷ im Maire is im Michéol.⁸
- 5 Naimh in geimridh guidim lium fri⁹ drongu demhna
Im Iosa na nionat¹⁰ in¹¹ spirat naemh nemhdha.

¹ ronsaerad ² phianai ³ dáilid ⁴ guidim ⁵ co rísam a
tíru P. Co tíssa on tírsa B (order reversed for sake of assonance). ⁶ foghmair
ailim; aluinn drong nach dichél P. nadícheol B ⁷ Co tíad dom cobur
⁸ Michél ⁹ ré ¹⁰ ionad B and P (changed for assonance *ionat*: *spirat*)
¹¹ immun

- 6 In feilire naemhsa¹⁻² bias³ ag sruithibh sáeraibh
Cipsa lia⁴ do randaibh nochá lia do naemhaibh.⁵
- 7 Aitcim naoim⁶ in talman aitchim aingle' ile
Aitchim Dia fodeine⁸ fo eirge is fo lighe
Cia denar⁹ cia therar¹⁰ co trebhar¹¹ tir nimhe.

TRANSLATION.

Here begins *the Saints' Calendar of Adamnan* to his mother.

- 1 The saints of the four seasons, I long to pray to them,
May they save me from torments, the saints of the whole
year!
- 2 The saints of the glorious spring-time, may they be with me
by the will of God's fosterling,¹²
Together with Brigid, a maiden pure, with Gregory and Patrick.
- 3 The saints of the dry summer, about them is my poetic
frenzy,
That I may come from this land to Jesus, Son of Mary.
- 4 The saints of the beauteous autumn,—I call upon a company
not inharmonious,¹³
That they may come near me, together with Mary and Michael.
- 5 The saints of the winter I pray to, may they be with me
against the throngs of demons,
Around Jesus of the mansions, the holy, heavenly spirit.

¹ in margin of B ² mor sin ³ bhis ⁴ Gid lia he ⁵ (In margin of B)
Vel sic: Nochá lia do randaibh cipsa lia do naomhuiph nisi dicat *non* plures
sanctos quamvis plures *versus* esse apud aliud quam apud se his paucis versibus
⁶ naema ⁷ amlaid ⁸ budéine ⁹ dénum ¹⁰ déaram ¹¹ gur trebhun
¹² Suggested by Dr. Strachan, taking *daltait* as an irregular derivative from
dalte (for *daltetat*), 'God's fosterling' being an epithet for Christ.

¹³ Apparently an adj. comp. of *di* and *ceol*. Cp. S. na R. l. 2197, where the
meaning seems to be *harsh*:

'Niba dicheoil, toraind ngle, A Micheoil fria morgaire.'

6 This saints' calendar [*i.e.* the calendar of Oengus], which
noble sages will have,¹

Though more numerous in verses, it is not more numerous
in saints.

7 I beseech the saints of the earth, I beseech all the angels,
I beseech God Himself, both rising and lying down,
Whate'er I do or whate'er I say, that I may inhabit the
heavenly land.

MARY E. BYRNE, B.A.

¹ Better *dhís* as in P v.v. which have.

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